N. Y. N. Y.

THE PROGRESSIVE

FEBRUARY 1958 35 CENTS 50TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

P29 — on DuBois

THE FOUR FACES OF PEACE

Lester B. Pearson

THE SOUTH RIGHT NOW

Harold C. Fleming

THE GREATEST KILLER OF KIDS

Richard L. Neuberger

411 MDF 15

[2]

Office memo

THE FIRST of the special issues commemorating *The Progressive's* 50th Year will appear next month—a special number devoted almost exclusively to recent and current developments in the Soviet Union and their relation to foreign and domestic policy in the United States. We have spent many weeks preparing this special issue and, on the basis of the material on hand, we have no hesitancy in predicting it will be one of the greatest in all our nearly 50 years of publishing *The Progressive*.

Included in the rich array of articles and reviews are these special features:

• Cyrus L. Eaton, one of the nation's foremost industrialists, tells why we must meet the Soviets halfway in the pursuit of negotiated settlements.

• Dan Schorr, CBS correspondent, reports from Moscow on the present state of the Soviet economy.

• George Fischer, professor of history at Brandeis University and an associate of Harvard's Russian Research Center, draws on his ten years of schooling in the Soviet Union and his subsequent years of education in America to compare the educational systems of the two giants.

• John Gates, long the editor of *The Daily Worker*, reports on why he just quit the Communist Party, why he stayed as long as he did, and what he thinks there is left of the Communist movement in America.

• Michel Gordey, author of *Visa to Moscow* and roving correspondent for *France-Soir*, biggest daily in Paris, analyzes French foreign policy on the basis of his current journeys to Russia, Central Europe, Asia and the Middle East.

• Representative Henry Reuss, one of the ablest and most articulate of the young Democrats in Congress, draws on his recent swing through the Far East to write of the Soviet political and economic offensive in that strategic area of the world.

• Justice William O. Douglas, author of *Russian Journey*, reviews George Fischer's new book, *Russian Liberalism*, just published by the Harvard University Press.

• Dr. Mark G. Field, who recently completed a first-hand survey of socialized medicine in the Soviet Union, tells how the system works in practice.

• Dr. Ruth Widmayer, assistant professor of political science at Portland State College, reports her findings after a journey to the Soviet Union spent, in part, examining Soviet textbooks to determine what Russian children are taught about the United States.

• Professor George Gibian of Smith College shows how Russian literature betrays contradictions in Soviet life and art.

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The

FOUNDED IN 1909 BY ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE, Sr.

FEBRUARY, 1958

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The Progressive makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its general policies. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of the management.

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50th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

enjoys—or with the balance between the two. There is of course a strong Conservative Party, which wants more free enterprise in the Danish economy —though not at the expense of *too* many of the social services. And even the dominant Social Democratic Party has expressed concern over certain cracks in the social and economic structure, and has been working to encourage more private initiative and investment, but with this important proviso; that there be "a justifiable division of the proceeds" and no compromise with the principle whose goal remains the achievement of "new social and cultural progress."

There are high-minded individuals within most of the parties who maintain that not enough attention is paid to the *causes* of social distress in all the programs to eradicate its effects. A high official in the government—and an extremely intelligent one—has expressed himself strongly (though privately) that there is not enough person-to-person contact in all the welfare programs, that the human touch is lacking. He said people, knowing their neighbor cannot suffer real economic distress with all the welfare programs available, "mind their own business too much." The result, he argues, is too many lonely people, especially among the older age groups. (Can this be an explanation of the curious fact that the Danes, especially among older elements, have one of the highest suicide rates in the world? This same official denies that there is a direct connection. Despite repeated and diligent questioning, I have been unable to discover a concrete theory for this phenomenon.)

But with all due allowance for the fact that Denmark is still far from its goal of welding freedom and welfare into a perfect union, the marriage is about as happy a one as can be hoped for in this imperfect world. In the final analysis, it is because freedom and welfare *are* the goals, the inseparable goals, for *all* the people, that 4½ million Danes are willing to spend 10 per cent of the total national income and 38 per cent of the entire national budget for these purposes.

The Swedes have coined a term for the kind of community envisaged by such programs. It is "A Home for the People."

The Tragedy of W. E. B. DuBois

by FRANCIS L. BRODERICK

W. E. B. DuBois is a lonely and tragic Negro. Once a national audience, black and white, heard his plea for Negro equality. Now few listen, and fewer still heed him. Once Negro leaders looked to him as the patron saint of their struggle. Now he, like Paul Robeson, embarrasses them.

When the Supreme Court handed down its desegregation decision in the spring of 1954, who thought to say that the modern movement for Negro rights, of which the Court's decision was a momentary climax, owed more to DuBois than to any other single man? Negroes are looking for equality by 1963, the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. When DuBois set that goal sixty years before, black Americans were still moving in a dark night of discrimination—segregation, disfranchisement, lynching—with the darkest hours still ahead. For more than thirty years he prodded the white man's conscience and the Negro's courage. Then he broke with the forces for civil rights and with his own great past just as the struggle was about to register real gains. Chasing after a pipe dream of Negro separatism, he found himself far from the battlefield when his side started winning, and when he finally did return, there was no room for him in the top command. Even so, he could have been—indeed was for a few years—venerated as the Negro's elder statesman. But he lost this role too when he preached the Soviet Union's version of socialism and peace. Now few remember him, and of the few, part remember only his pro-Soviet posture.

DuBois matured in the world of Booker T. Washington, whose speech at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895 was a landmark in Negro history. There Washington offered the white South an attractive deal—in exchange for economic opportunity, that is, industrial education and jobs, the Negro would put off his insistence on political, civil, and social rights. Though Washington never explicitly disclaimed a single Negro right, his accommodating, diplomatic words made white Southerners think they could deal with the Negro on their own terms. His program was designed to soothe racial tensions by allaying white apprehension of aggressive Negro demands, by guaranteeing a stable Negro labor force in the South, and bargaining for security and education for the Negro.

As a result of the "Atlanta compromise," Washington became the Negro's unofficial ambassador to white America, and his prestige in the white world, particularly among politicians and philanthropists, gave him almost regal status in the Negro world until his death in 1915.

Though originally friendly to Washington's position, DuBois soon joined up with a group of noisy dissenters—mainly northern, urban, educated Negroes—who charged that Washington was selling out the Negro's heritage as a man and as an American for a mess of economic pottage. A mulatto of French Huguenot, Dutch, and Negro ancestry, DuBois

FRANCIS L. BRODERICK is an instructor in history at Phillips Exeter Academy. This article is a summary of a book he has just completed on Dr. DuBois. Mr. Broderick is on leave from Phillips Exeter this year working on a biography of the late Monsignor John A. Ryan, pioneer in Catholic social thinking.

—the name is pronounced Du-Boyce —had grown up in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and had been educated at Fisk, Harvard, and Berlin. After jobs at Wilberforce and at the University of Pennsylvania, he had gone to Atlanta University as a professor of sociology, a pioneer in collecting data on Negro life.

Behind his conflict with Washington was the clash of two discordant personalities. Both possessed titanic ambition. Washington, thick set and slow moving, had the confidence of a self-trained man. A shrewd, calculating judge of people, he had the soft speech and the accommodating manner which made him equally at home among sharecroppers and at the President's table. A master of equivocation, he could make platitudes pass as earthly wisdom, and he could take back unnoticed with one hand what he had given with the other. Slight and nervous in his movements, DuBois never for a moment forgot his educational background. Arrogant and outspoken, he held aloof from the Negro masses, but felt at home with a small company of his peers, with whom he could be witty and convivial. Washington had the appearance of a sturdy farmer in his Sunday best; DuBois, with a well-trimmed goatee, looked like a Spanish aristocrat. Where Washington was accommodating, DuBois was fretful and aggressive. The conflict between them became official in 1903 when DuBois published an attack on Washington in his most famous book, *The Souls of Black Folk*. Seven years later he left Atlanta to join white progressives like Oswald Garrison Villard to set up the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The NAACP, a sort of Twentieth Century abolitionist society, concentrated on civil and political rights, using civil suits, organized protest, and education as its weapons. DuBois, editor of the NAACP's magazine, *The Crisis*, supported these activities, yet at the same time he was impatient with the Association's merely negative program of fighting obstructions. He wanted the Negro to plan the development of his own group through building and loan associations, cooperatives, even a Negro party (though this last was muted).

Through the *Crisis* and the Association and through an annual nationwide lecture tour, DuBois' voice became the loudest in the race. Washington's death in 1915 removed the great rival, and no one took Washington's place. What's more, the Negro was leaving the farm, and more important, he was moving North in substantial numbers: in the decade from 1910 to 1920, Chicago's Negroes more than doubled, and Detroit's multiplied seven times. For this group Washington's views no longer had meaning, and they were ready to hear the more uncompromising DuBois. Gathered in Northern urban ghettos, they had strength of numbers and the right to vote, powerful weapons in their own defense. These conditions worked in DuBois' favor. The *Crisis* and the Association gave him a springboard to power, for in the Negro world he became the symbol of their work. Executive officers of the NAACP, white men all until 1920, came and went, and none ever made his will felt as an independent force. As a result, local branches of the NAACP all over the nation identified the work of the Association with the vigorous editor whose views the members—70,000 by 1919—received every month. Behind the *Crisis* and the Association, they saw a single figure—the austere, uncompromising, scholarly Dr. DuBois, unapproachable and unafraid.

By the end of the decade, DuBois reached his pinnacle. The year after Washington's death, Negro leaders of all views and all sections arrived unanimously at a statement of policy not measurably different from DuBois' views. After America's entry into the war, Negro leaders gathered in Washington to promise support of the war, but also to insist on the training of Negro officers, an end to lynching, universal suffrage, universal and free common school training, abolition of the Jim Crow car, repeal of segregation ordinances, equal civil rights in public institutions. At both meetings DuBois' program spoke the mind of the articulate race leaders.

To be sure, DuBois never inherited Washington's authority; no Negro did. DuBois' voice carried further than any other single Negro's, but it never rang with command; it was more like the loudest voice in a large and dissonant chorus. Furthermore, within the range of his influence DuBois handicapped himself by righteous, tempestuous arrogance. He could get away with this tone with many Negroes; but when he complained about the incompetence of the Negro press and the rascality of Negro clergymen, he was needling his most important potential allies. The less educated elements of the Negro population might put up with DuBois' arrogance as the price of his intellectual greatness. But men

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of comparable intelligence and training—Professor Alain Locke of Howard University was a Rhodes scholar—were not ready to accept DuBois' view of himself at its face value. Yet with all these reservations, the essential fact remains that no other Negro in 1920 reached a national audience so effectively.

For fifteen more years DuBois stayed on with the NAACP as editor of his almost personal magazine, the *Crisis*. His goal remained the same—full rights for all Negro Americans immediately. But the war had chilled his expectations from white America. Progressivism had let the Negro down, and when the Negro returned from the Great Crusade, he was met by the "Red Summer" of 1919 which, according to John Hope Franklin, "ushered in the greatest period of interracial strife the nation had ever witnessed. For an angry moment, DuBois recommended violence as the answer to violence. Then when anger burned itself out almost as completely as the idealism of the war years, he settled down to a long struggle.

Since white America, even liberal white America, had done so little for the Negro, DuBois looked about for new allies. He found two possibilities: dark-skinned men everywhere in the world who were growing restive under their white colonial masters, and the Russian revolutionists. The one led to the Pan-African movement, the other to a steady enthusiasm for the Soviet Union.

The Pan-African movement took the form of a series of congresses at which colored men representing no one but themselves gathered in Europe to condemn white colonialism. They accomplished little beyond forcing DuBois to do some fresh thinking about colonial problems.

■

The Soviet Union was a more rewarding enthusiasm, for socialism, as DuBois saw it, gave voice to the depressed masses, black and white. Initially cautious, he soon pronounced Russia "the most amazing and hopeful phenomenon" in the post-war world, and after a subsidized trip to Russia in 1926, he told his *Crisis* readers: "I stand in astonishment and wonder at the revelation of Russia that has come to me. I may be deceived and half-informed. But if what I have seen with my own eyes and heard with my own ears is Bolshevism, I am a Bolshevik." Like Pan-Africa, Russia seemed to offer a glimpse of the future, especially because of its "workingman's psychology" and its freedom from a color line. Negatively, it gained by the hatred of those white powers which bore the special brunt of DuBois' disapproval.

Yet the paragon existed at a distance, and DuBois' enthusiasm for Russia did not extend to American Communists, the "young jackasses" who mouthed Marxist cliches without understanding American conditions. The sentiment was reciprocated: the Communists labeled DuBois an imperialist follower of Booker T. Washington, a "betrayer of the Negro people" and a spokesman for "Negro bourgeois reformism." In this context DuBois' enthusiasm for Russia had no domestic effects.

The Great Depression created a new situation. Long the victim of a tradition of "last hired, first fired," the Negro suffered out of proportion to his numbers as the economy slid downward. Ever conscious of his responsibility as the race's leader—he never doubted it even when others did—DuBois searched for a way out. White America had done little, even in prosperous years; Pan-Africa was dead for the moment; world socialism was remote, and domestic socialism, Communist or non-Communist, promised the Negro nothing. His people facing disaster, he turned to the only allies on whom he felt the Negro could count: his twelve million Negro fellow Americans. He told his people to look for economic security in voluntary segregation—the formation of a Negro economy within the American economy. Let Negroes work for their own people, using their purchasing power to support their own. Their universities could plan for them, their businessmen could organize, their artists could enrich. Let white men flounder in capitalist greed; the Negro could flourish in cooperative sufficiency. Segregation without discrimination, he called it.

The plan ended DuBois' career as a leader of the race. To the NAACP, with which he had been associated for the 24 years since its beginning, segregation, however veiled, was anathema, and the organization let him go. The Negro and his white friends had worked with the old DuBois, uncompromising fighter for full equality, too long to turn to a new DuBois who sounded like Booker T. Washington. His old programs frustrated, his new plan rejected, DuBois went back to Atlanta University, as alone as he had been in his undergraduate days at Harvard.

A decade passed at Atlanta, with a good deal of homage to an old man no longer at the center of power; honorary degrees from Atlanta, Fisk, and Wilberforce; a testimonial 70th birthday party; membership in the National Institute of Arts and Letters. He wrote a weekly newspaper column, published a book, founded *Phylon,* a sociological quarterly, and organized regional conferences of Negro land-grant colleges. People forgot about his plan for Negro self-sufficiency; he all but forgot it himself. The older generation paid him the respect due to a great pioneer; the younger generation rarely heard his name. Then in 1944 his contract at Atlanta was abruptly terminated, and he returned to New York and to the NAACP for another round of controversy.

■

DuBois' return to the arena created difficulties. He was easier to venerate than to work with, and Negro leaders ready to canonize him as the patron saint of Negro equality were not ready to surrender power to him. Back at the Association's offices, where once he had thundered, his role was narrowed to post-war colonial policy and "special research," while other hands—to DuBois, cold hands—wove the fibers of policy. Walter White, with whom DuBois had feuded bitterly before the break in 1934, was now in charge. White was a gregarious, nimble, talented negotiator who used first-name diplomacy to expand Negro opportunity. For four years tensions about administration taxed the patience of both sides. How much office space was the Elder Statesman to have? Who was to open the mail? The two communicated through memoranda. When they met in an elevator the size of a large broom closet, they managed not to

see each other. Policy divided them even more decisively. Despite endless denials, White was friendly to the Truman Administration, this at a time when DuBois thought that President Truman was supporting colonial powers at the expense of subject peoples and was looking for a capitalist war to crush Russia. When these views led DuBois to support Henry A. Wallace publicly in 1948, White used the occasion to have DuBois fired.

For DuBois the pattern of the post-war world was clear: England and the United States were imperialist and discriminatory, Russia was neither. Business interests controlled America's direction: the Baruch plan was a trick to prevent the peacetime use of atomic energy; the Truman Doctrine armed Greece against Russia for the benefit of Great Britain; the Marshall Plan promised large profits to American investors and sought to re-establish European wealth at the expense of the colonies. On the other hand, no tarnish dulled the luster of the Soviet Union: Molotov was "the one statesman at San Francisco who stood up for human rights and the emancipation of colonies." The clarity of this balance gave order in a complex world.

American Communists and others similarly well disposed to Russian policy welcomed their new ally. Forgotten were the epithets on both sides. DuBois was wooed with vigor. The *New Masses* published his articles, gave him an award, named him a contributing editor. When he was dismissed from the Association, *Masses and Mainstream* and the *Daily Worker* screamed condemnation. Later on he became "one of the greatest living Americans," and finally the "recognized 'Dean of American Letters.'" For his part, DuBois said he would be a "fellow traveler with Communist or capitalist, with white man or black," as long as "he walks toward the truth."

DuBois had a remarkably busy career with his new friends. After his dismissal from the Association, he joined the Council on African Affairs as vice-chairman (Paul Robeson was chairman). Then he mounted the "peace" crusade as a featured speaker: New York in March 1949, Paris in April, Moscow in August, and Prague the following year. He became chairman of the Peace Information Center in New York City, the American agency for collecting signatures to the "Stockholm peace petition." In the fall of 1950, he ran for the U.S. Senate against Herbert H. Lehman and Joe R. Hanley on the American Labor Party ticket. Then in February 1951, a Washington grand jury indicted DuBois and others for failing to register the Peace Information Center as the "agent of a foreign principal."

The indictment marked the final turning point in DuBois' career. When the case came to trial, the presiding judge dismissed it because the government failed to establish a nexus between DuBois' group and any foreign principal. Yet as a result of the trial, DuBois cut himself loose from the American struggle for equality and associated himself with a "world concept of human uplift," the forces fighting for peace and for the working classes. In DuBois' view these forces were best represented by Russia. Mulling over the post-war world and his own trial, sorting out friends and enemies, he charged that colored leaders all over the world had abandoned their people to become lackeys of capitalism. Ralph J. Bunche, who had won the Nobel Peace Prize for achieving a truce between Israel and the Arab states, had made the Negro an unwitting partner to the betrayal of democracy in Israel when he should have "stood firm against vacillation, compromise, and betrayal by our Department of State." Negroes had moved far in fifty years—they could move no farther unless they fought American capitalist-imperialists hell-bent on curbing social welfare and destroying Russia. On essential points—peace, socialism, education, race prejudice—Russia, in DuBois' view, had no peer. The United States could expect his loyalty, but Russia won his hopes. Because Negro leaders refused to copy his enthusiasm for the Soviet Union, because Negroes generally failed to heed and to succor him, he publicly turned his back on their efforts.

The final break put a tragic end to DuBois' career, for the Negro in America owes him much. One cannot say that the Negro's progress since 1903 is the result of DuBois' agitation: DuBois' ideas belonged to others as well, and many forces other than agitation have contributed to the Negro's advance in fifty years. Yet DuBois, more than anyone else, pointed the way for the Negro by his steady refusal to allow the Negro comfort in anything less than his full rights as an American. Hammering away at America's conscience and at the Negro's pride, arguing, cajoling, threatening, retreating when necessary, advancing when possible, he staked out the Negro's claim so unmistakably that others could carry on when he faltered. At home, and abroad as well, in South Africa as well as in the United States, his writings gave colored men courage for their fight. His monthly editorials held up the strong, re-charged the wavering, and flayed the compromisers. The *Crisis* became the record of Negro achievement; its columns gave recognition to success in every field, and young artists could find there a place for their creations. Even DuBois' aloofness became an asset—it removed him in Negro eyes from everyday life and, by giving him a transcendent quality, it raised the goal of aspiration. The austere Dr. DuBois reminded Negro intellectuals that courage and talent could carry a man—and a race—far.

Now at the end of a long life—he will be ninety this month—his immediate past blots out the remoter past. Men need long memories and a sense of history to do him justice, for recently he has had little of value to say to the Negro. Last May, when the Schomberg Collection, the branch of the New York Public Library which specializes in Negro history, had a little ceremony to unveil a bronze head of DuBois by William Zorach, it was a chance to go behind recent events and give the man the recognition which, 25 years before, everyone knew he had earned. A large crowd appeared overflowing into 135th Street. Nice things were said, by Van Wyck Brooks and E. Franklin Frazier among others. But except for the *Amsterdam News*, right in the neighborhood, the Negro press ignored the event. The present had consumed the past, and an old man was reminded that people have short memories. After such a career, it was a stark valedictory.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

197 E. FOURTH STREET • NEW YORK 9, N. Y. • ORegon 3-3800

February 13, 1958

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N.Y.

42-52-21

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed you will find the four-page story we did for Negro History Week. We are tremendously pleased at the result, and we hope you will be too. Your own piece was one of the finest things you've ever done for us which, as far as I am concerned, is no mean compliment.

I have asked the Circulation Department to send you a bundle of 25 copies and if you wish more, you or Shirley might call me. We have printed extra copies of this issue.

And may I tell you, for myself, how much I feel you have enriched our paper, and how much I have drawn from you. May all the rest of your years bring grace to you, as you bring grace to them.

Most sincerely,

Jim Aronson

James Aronson

W. E. B. Du BOIS
51 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

March 6, 1958

Mr. Louis Burnham
c/ The Guardian
197 East 4 Street
New York City

42-5C-25

My dear Burnhams

Enclosed is a corrected and slightly revised version of my talk on March 2. If it is published anywhere, kindly follow this text.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

May 16, 1958

Mr. James Aronson
National Guardian
197 E.4th St.
New York City, N.Y.

42-50-20

My dear Mr. Aronson:

Can you attend to the enclosed telegram? I don't know what Marie is talking about.

We have just returned from three weeks in the West Indies where we had a pleasant stay and are off to Chicago on Tuesday.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:RM

Enc. telegram

June 4, 1958

Mr. James Aronson
c/o National Guardian
197 East 4th St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Aronson:

42-5c-17

I am delighted to learn through Shirley that you have come through your ordeal with success and how have a new subject for conversation which will bind you to a large number of your fellow citizens. I shall hope to see you soon. Meanwhile, I enclose an article. I am not sure whether or not it should be published. Perhaps, if published, it will have to be cut and some omissions made. At any rate, here it is. Think it over at your leisure.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:RR
Enc. article

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

197 E. FOURTH STREET • NEW YORK 9, N. Y. • ORegon 3-3800

June 11, 1958

42-SC-24

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you so much for your good wishes in your letter of June 4. I am back at work pretty much full time again after a very good recovery; but I am making a new departure in these matters: I am not talking about my operation.

Thanks also for your charming conversation piece at the dinner table. We all had some chuckles over it and decided that we would hold it until we learn whether the up-coming weekend conference on an Independent Socialist ticket is a success or a shambles. The piece would take some trimming and if we decide to use it I will be in touch with you early next week.

I do hope that you are resting up from your stremuous travels, which must have been tiring however pleasurable. I was especially delighted to learn that you had been elected to Phi Beta Kappa. It is a world I never made and don't expect to - even when I reach 90. But then, who can tell?

Sincerely yours,

Jim Aronson

James Aronson
Editor

N

43-54-156

June 30, 1958

Helen and Scott Nearing
Social Science Institute
Harborside, Maine

My dear friends:

Enclosed is my check for $3.50 for a copy of your "The Brave New World."

With best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

WEDB:RR

Enc. $3.50.

N

To the United States members of the World Council of Peace

42-519-157

The Congress for Disarmament and International Cooperation which met in Stockholm from July 16-22, 1958, consisted of 1,260 delegates and observers from 78 countries. At the plenary sessions something like 170 speeches were made. The five commissions on economic, political and cultural co-operation and on peace forces presented resolutions, which were adopted at the closing session of the Congress.

After the end of the Congress, on July 22, there was a meeting for the election or re-election of WCP members. Subsequently the newly elected WCP members were called together to hear a report on organization, to elect officers and select the members of the WCP Bureau. A final general meeting was called to hear reports of secretaries or other representatives of national peace committees on the situation in various countries and on the methods which were being used to build up the peace movement.

During the Congress there were meetings of professional groups and get-togethers arranged between the delegations.

The United States delegation, one of the smallest, consisted of ten people, three of whom were students. By comparison - the Chinese delegation numbered 45, the Japanese 70, the Indian 85, the Finnish 90 and the German delegations more than 100 members.

Should another Congress be held in the summer of 1959, it is urgently desirable that United States peace forces be represented by a larger and better balanced delegation. It is also desirable that more United States WCP members plan to attend the Congress. This year only one member was present.

Scott Nearing.

August 19, 1958

Scott Nearing
Harborside, Maine

41-19F-10

July 14, 1938

Mr. Pablo Neruda
Santiago di Chile
Chile, South America

My dear Mr. Neruda:

I received with great appreciation the birthday greeting last February from you and your six colleagues. It was a very fine and encouraging tribute. Kindly receive my thanks and greetings.

Very sincerely yours,

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
ORGAN DES ZENTRALKOMITEES DER SOZIALISTISCHEN EINHEITSPARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS

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Bei Antwort bitte Zeichen und Betreff angeben

Berlin W 8, Mauerstraße 39/40

Einh/Ro 27.1.58

42-54-74

Dear Comrade,

We should like to ask you whether you could write a short article, perhaps 2 - 3 pags, for our paper giving your views on the situation in Europe with special reference to the German question.
As you know has the German Democratic Republic from its foundation taken up a firm stand against the revival of remilitarisation in Western Germany. Now we are in the midst of the fight for a nuclear-free zone in middle Europe. Our Premier Otto Grotewohl proposed a plebiscite on the question in our Republic as well as in Western Germany. Perhaps you could give your views on these problems. We should like to publish this short article in honor of your birthday and hope you can spare the time for it.
Wishing you the best of health and further success in your work

yours fraternally Herr Einhorn

P.S. Would you kindly enclose with the article a photo for us.

(140) B 24 779/53 3 7939 X. 53

4/2-54-13

July 23, 1958

Editor, The New Republic
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I am leaving on August 5th for my thirteenth trip abroad. My first trip was in 1892, when I went to study at the University of Berlin. Other trips have followed in 1900, 1906, 1911, 1919 1921, 1923, 1936, 1949 and 1950.

In all these trips I have visited England and France, and in most of them Germany and Italy. I have been three times in the Soviet Union, twice in Poland and at other times in Czechoslovakia, Spain, Denmark and Sweden. I have also visited China, Japan and West Africa.

On this trip I plan again to visit England, France, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, perhaps Italy, some part of Asia and possibly West Africa. I have from time to time in the past summed up my observations and conclusions drawn from this travel in the Atlantic Monthly, Foreign Affairs and other periodicals.

I write to ask if you would be interested in having me prepare for The New Republic any of my conclusions from this travel. I am a Socialist, have great interest in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe and have spent most of my life studying the problems of Africa and its descendants, especially in America.

If you would be interested in this proposition, I would be glad to hear from you at your convenience. My biography is in "Who's Who" and in "Who's Who in America".

Very sincerely yours,

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Gilbert A. Harrison, EDITOR & PUBLISHER

July 28, 1958

Mr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
Shirley Graham
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, New York

42-3-41

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

You were very kind to write us and offer to do some work for The New Republic. We are so heavily committed to material now that I am compelled to decline your offer. I trust you have a highly successful trip.

Sincerely,

Gilbert Harrison

GAH:cg

Telephone: REpublic 7-8656
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[1958]

40/89/17

CENTER FOR AFRICAN STUDIES

SANFORD GRIFFITH, *Director*

The primary purpose of the Center for African Studies is to provide interested adults with knowledge about this important but still little understood area of the world.

A group of experts cooperate in the study and exchange of information about Africa, its history, geography, cultures and institutions, with particular attention to the problems that spreading education and industrial development are creating.

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135 PEOPLES OF AFRICA BEFORE THE EUROPEAN INVASION. Fall and spring. Wednesdays, 8:30-10:10 P.M., beginning October 1. $27 JOHN V. MURRA.

This course examines selected topics in the field of African social organization in an effort to understand the pre-European cultures of the continent. Among the institutions considered:

Family and kinship structures, lineages and clans among the Nilotic peoples.
The significance of age groups for solidarity, settlement patterns, law and politics in East Africa.
Matrilineal organization in Central Africa; an inquiry into the reasons for the apparent fragility of this way of organizing family and kinship relations.
Pastoralism in East Africa and its role in the formation of the Ankole and Rwanda conquest states.
Zulu militarism.
The revenue and power systems of the Lozi and Dahomean kingdoms.
Crop domestication in West Africa.
Cities and trade in the Western Sudan.
The cosmology of the Dogon and Lovedu.
The religion of the Nuer and Nupe.

137 AFRICA IN TRANSITION. Fall. Mondays, 6:30-8:10 P.M., beginning September 29. $27 Third hour: 5:30-6:20 P.M. WILLIAM B. SCHWAB.

Since the last decade of the 19th century, Africa, south of the Sahara, has been under the influences of economic, political and social forces of the West. This course is concerned with the social processes that have been set into motion by these influences. It deals with: changes in political and economic systems; racial and governmental policies; the conflicts of traditional, moral and religious values with the demands of contemporary life; the emergence of new social classes and status systems.

CULTURES AND INSTITUTIONS OF AFRICAN PEOPLES. Spring. Mondays, 6:30-8:10 P.M., beginning February 9. $27 Third hour: 5:30-6:20 P.M. WILLIAM B. SCHWAB.

139 BLACK AFRICA'S LARGER CITIES, THEIR CONFLICTS AND RELATIONSHIPS. Fall and spring. Tuesdays, 6:20-8:00 P.M., beginning September 30. $27 JEAN COMMHAIRE, SUZANNE COMMHAIRE-SYLVAIN.

The larger cities of Black Africa are considered as the major points of contact between the peoples of Africa and the outside world. Study also is made of their social structure, communities, castes and classes, family life, including childhood and the role of women; of problems of leadership, cultural conflicts between town elite and rural newcomers, and between Africans and whites as well as between tribes in these heterogeneous cosmopolitan centers.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

SANFORD GRIFFITH. Ph.B., Chicago; studied, Dartmouth; graduate, Ecole des Sciences Politiques. Formerly correspondent, Berlin and Rome N. Y. Herald; head, London Bureau Wall Street Journal; consultant to several governments. Studied Franco-Moslem relations in Algeria,

JOHN V. MURRA. Ph.D., Chicago. Associate Professor of Anthropology, Vassar College. Formerly taught at Universities of Chicago and Puerto Rico; African area specialist UN Secretariat Trusteeship Department; field work in the Andes, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Martinique. Articles on African social structure.

WILLIAM B. SCHWAB. Ph.D., Pennsylvania; studied, Michigan, London Universities. Professor of anthropology and sociology, Temple University, Phila. Formerly engaged in Ford Foundation study, development of urban relationships among Africans in Southern Rhodesia; lecturer, Columbia, Haverford; consultant, Technical Assistance Field Project, Cherokee Indian Reservation; staff member, survey of social and technological changes, Norristown, Pa.; socio-economic survey of an urban African community in Nigeria. Fellow, British Social Science Research Council. Author: An Experiment in Resettlement in Northern Nigeria; The Growth and Conflicts of Religion in a Modern Yoruba Community; The Application of Field Techniques in a Socio-Economic Survey of a West African Community; Kinship and lineage among the Yoruba; Urbanism and Acculturation.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES (Continued)

JEAN COMMHAIRE. Ph.D., Oxford; London School of Economics (Malinowski's seminar). Research staff, Nuffield College, Oxford, with field work in Nigeria. Expert in municipal administration. Formerly: Belgian official in the Congo for 3 years; in Haiti 6 years, lecturer at Ecole des Lettres, for Columbia and UNESCO; made a study for the Institute of Man in Haiti; Professor, Seton Hall; summer courses, Fordham. Author: Urban Conditions in Africa; articles. Co-author with wife: Making a Living in the Marbial Valley, Haiti.

SUZANNE COMMHAIRE-SYLVAIN. Ph.D., Paris; post-doctoral studies, London (Malinowski's seminar), Columbia and Oxford. Secretary, Caribbean studies, Ecole Libre. Formerly: research assistant, London University School of Education; supervisor of schools and director of Ecole de Lettres, Haiti; Haitian Government delegate to the Inter-American Assembly of Women; African area specialist, United Nations. Field work, Belgian Congo, Nigeria, Haiti. Author: Le Creole Haitien, Les contes Haitiens; Le roman de Bouki; Contes du pays d'Haiti; Food and Leisure in Leopoldville; articles.

WILTON DILLON. B.A. University of California; studied, University of Paris, University of Leyden. Executive Secretary and Director of Research, Phelps-Stokes Fund; lecturer: Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Fordham, Columbia (Teachers College). Formerly: staff anthropologist, Japan Society of New York; director, Clearinghouse for Research in Human Organizations; vice-president (East), Society for Applied Anthropology; press and cultural relations officer, Tokyo, Japan. Research on tribalism and social change (North Africa, American Indians). Associate, Overseas Training and Research, Inc. Member: editorial board, Human Organization; American Anthropological Association, American Sociological Society.

ALEXANDER MELAMID. Ph.D., Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science; B.Sc. (Econ.), London. Assoc. professor, NYU. Formerly: member, U. S. Delegation to the Fourth World Petroleum Congress, Rome; fellow, Royal Geographical Society and Association of American Geographers. Consultant work and research on problems of the petroleum industry and geographical problems of economic development in the U. S., Puerto Rico, Turkey, Cyprus, Israel, Iran and Afghanistan. Author: Turkey; articles in geographical and petroleum journals.

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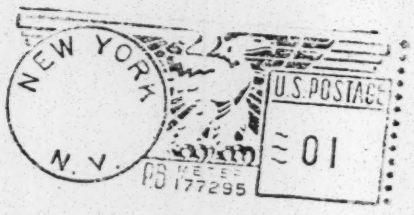

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

~~23 West Twenty-Sixth Street - New York 10 - MUrray Hill 3-3855~~

100-5A-162

July 9, 1958

Dear Shirley and Dr. Du Bois:

It is wonderful news that you are about to make a trip.

I know you will be very busy, but if either or both of you have a chance to do any writing for us along the way, on any of the countries in our special sphere of interest, or on the peace or related movements anywhere, we would be very happy. We would expect to pay (modestly, I'm afraid) for any articles you might send, and could send along a check before you leave if that would be any help on the journey's expenses.

In any case, I rejoice that you will take the trip, and send you heartfelt good wishes for a rewarding journey in every way.

Sincerely yours,

Jessica

Jessica Smith

309

[New York City College]

Marxist Discussion Club
CCNY
Convent Ave. & 139 Street
February 21, 1958

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Ct.
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Sir:

On behalf of the Marxist Discussion Club, I would like to invite you to speak at the uptown campus of the City College of New York.

In the past years momentous gains have been recorded by the American Negro, and throughout this period american students have become increasingly aware of this struggle. As a living symbol of Negro History since the Reconstruction, there is noone more fit to speak on "The **Negro Since Reconstruction.**"

We would like to have you speak on Thursday March 6, 1958 at 12:15 PM. If this is inconvenient we would suggest the following week, March 13, at the same time.

We, of Course, will provide you with the necessary transportation, and assume all responsibility for your personal expenses.

Wishing you a Happy Birthday...

Yours respectfully,
Paul B. McGowan
Paul B. McGowan

[New York Welfare Dept]

Copy)

Department of Welfare
1951 Park Avenue
New York 37, New York

January 18, 1958

Re: C.S. Temberg 22-2
Mrs. Lizzora Lester

42-5A 182

Dear Sir:

Mrs. Lizzora Lester is not emplyed in my home as a domestic. The form you sent me, therefore, does not apply. Lizzora Lester does come here occational to do days work. She first was called in during the holidays when I needed extra help and has been here several times since. She was recommended by a friend. I find her a good and willing worker. I pay her a dollar and a quarter an hour when she does come here. I understand from my friend that Lizzora has several small children and that her husband is sick. For this reason she can only go out for day's work. I should think that she does need some assistance.

Yours truly,

N

July 14, 1958

Dr. D. Martin Niemoller
Wiesbaden
Brentanostrasse 8

Dear Dr. Niemoller:

I deeply appreciate your kind greeting on my 90th birthday last February. I have long admired your work and your steadfast courage and if it is my good fortune to see Germany this year I shall hope also to see you.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du BOIS
51 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

February 12, 1958

His Excellency Kwame Nkrumah
Prime Minister of Ghana

My dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have your kind letter of February 5. May I say in reply that up until about 1955, the United States Passport Division required no affidavit. When I applied for a passport to go to the Peace Congress at Montevideo, I was refused because "It was not considered for the best interests of the United States" that I should go. When I applied for a passport to go to Ghana, there was no requirement in the application for me to sign any statement. After the passport had been refused, the officials at Washington stated that this was because I had not signed the Communist affidavit. They had not asked me to sign it. But I had already told them that I would not sign any statement concerning my politics or religion because, in my opinion, the Government under the Constitution had noright to require such a statement. Under present procedure, nearly everyone applying for a passport is required to make a sworn statement as to whether they are a member of the Communist Party or ever have been a member, and if so, for how long. This has not been required of everybody. Exceptions have been made in certain cases.

So far as I am concerned, I am not a member of the Communist Party and I never have been. I have stated that under oath, on several occasions, when, as a witness, the question was asked in the course of trial procedure. However, in the matter of passport, there is absolutely no legal basis for such a requirement and it is only being used to embarrass certain Americans. I will not be a tool to such procedure, and I am confident that when the matter finally reaches decision by the Supreme Court, this procedure will be declared illegal. But whether it is or not, I still stand on my decision that the Secretary of State has no business to ask me as a prerequisite to travel to make any statement as to my political or religious beliefs.

What the United States is trying to do is to keep anybody from going abroad who will dare testify as to conditions in the United States. Nothing would please me better than to make a trip to your country. But if I do make such a trip, I will say

what I please and not what I am ordered to. You may tell this to the American Minister and to our Department of State.

I wish you all success on the meeting of independent African countries which you plan, and also upon the forthcoming Pan-African Congress. If I can come, I will, but it is most improbable that I shall be allowed. I am greatly pleased that you have Padmore with you. Also, permit me and my wife to congratulate you upon your marriage, and to present our respects and good wishes to Madame, your wife.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

39-1E-19

[Nkrumah]

PRIME MINISTER

5th August, 1958.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I think that without doubt the highlight of my whole American visit was being able to meet you again, and this was made a doubly great occasion for me when I knew that you and your wife now have your passports and intend to visit us. I shall write more fully when I reach Accra. This is just to let you know how happy I was to meet you.

With kindest regards to you and Shirley.

Yours very sincerely,

Kwame Nkrumah

39-1E-15

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
31, Grace Court,
Brooklyn 1, N.Y.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH December, 1958

39-12-2

THE HONOURABLE DR. KWAME NKRUMAH, M.P.
PRIME MINISTER OF GHANA

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (pronounced En-Krooma), Prime Minister of Ghana, has served his country as chief minister during the years of rapid evolution from its former colonial status as the British Gold Coast to the independent, free nation of Ghana.

Elected to power as leader of his party (Convention People's Party) in 1951, Dr. Nkrumah first took office as Leader of Government Business. He received the title of Prime Minister of the Gold Coast the following year, and on March 6, 1957, when Ghana joined the free nations of the world, he became the first Prime Minister of Ghana.

Kwame Nkrumah was born on September 21, 1909, the son of a gold-smith, in a small village in the Axim district of Ghana, then in the western province of the Gold Coast. After elementary education in mission schools he went to the Prince of Wales College at Achimota and trained as a teacher.

Soon after leaving college Nkrumah determined to complete his education overseas. He went to the United States in 1935 and received his B.A. in 1939 from Lincoln University Pennsylvania, majoring in economics and sociology. He went on to study theology and education at Lincoln Theological Institute and at the University of Pennsylvania, where he took degrees of Bachelor of Theology and Master of Science in Education. While doing his graduate work toward his Ph.D. degree, Nkrumah served on the Lincoln faculty as instructor in philosophy, Greek and Negro history. (On his visit to the U.S. in 1951 he received an honorary doctorate from Lincoln University.)

To help pay his way through college Kwame Nkrumah held a variety of jobs, and worked in shipyards and went to sea as a steward during vacations. He also spent much time preaching in Negro churches in Pennsylvania and New York.

During his period of study in the U.S. Nkrumah helped found the African Students' Association of the U.S. and Canada, edited its publication and as its first president gained considerable experience in leadership and organization. It was at this time, also, that he began to study West African politics and think in terms of nationalism.

In 1945 Dr. Nkrumah left the U.S. for England for further study at the London School of Economics. He joined Gray's Inn and studied law, but quickly became drawn into political activity and from 1945 to 1947 served as General Secretary of the West African National Secretariat, formed with the object of working for a united Africa, edited the paper of the West African Students' Union and served as joint secretary of the Pan African Congress. During this time Dr. Nkrumah also edited a pamphlet, "New Africa," which circulated in the Gold Coast in 1946.

.....2/...

(Prime Minister Nkrumah's other publications include: "Education and Nationalism in West Africa," 1943; "Towards Colonial Freedom," 1946; "What I Mean by Positive Action," 1950; and "Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah", 1957).

From England Dr. Nkrumah's reputation as an organizer spread to the Gold Coast, where the post-war years brought a nation-wide demand for more rapid progress toward self-government, and in 1947 he was offered the position as general secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention, a recently-formed nationalist body.

During the years that followed he became increasingly important figure in the Gold Coast. He addressed meetings all over the country and gained a strong personal following. In 1949 a split occurred in the United Gold Coast Convention, and Nkrumah broke away to form a party of his own, the Convention People's Party, which had a strong appeal to youth, and rapidly drew ahead of the more middle-class U.G.C.C. To such an extent did the new party capture the public that at the general election of 1951, the first held under the new constitution, it swept the polls with thirty-five seats out of thirty-eight.

At that time the party's leader was in prison. Kwame Nkrumah's activities brought him from time to time into conflict with authority. In 1948 he suffered a period of banishment to the Northern Territories, following the February riots in which the U.G.C.C. was alleged to have been involved. During 1949 the C.P.P. developed a campaign to demand immediate self-government, and declared its intention of inaugurating a series of strikes and boycotts. Early in 1950 Nkrumah was imprisoned on a charge of sedition and of fomenting an illegal general strike.

When his party was victorious at the general election, he was released as an act of grace in order that he might become head of the new Government as Leader of Government Business. A year later an amendment was made in the new constitution, whereby he received the title and status of Prime Minister.

During the years since he took office Dr. Nkrumah has initiated far-reaching development schemes in his country. In the summer of 1951 he visited Great Britain and the United States in order to recruit technicians, teachers, doctors, engineers and scientists to help in this programme. Plans on foot include the Volta River Project, still under consideration, to produce power for a bauxite and other industries and water for irrigation, and the establishment of a new deep-water port and township at Tema which is due for completion in 1960.

Since Ghana became independent, Dr. Nkrumah's Government has introduced a new five-year plan designed to establish new industries, improve agriculture, to inaugurate big programmes of road and waterwork construction and to improve the general standard of living.

.....3/...

He has worked to secure co-operation between African countries in a number of spheres. As Prime Minister of the Gold Coast he opened, in January, 1957, the first all-African trade union conference. In June, 1957, as Prime Minister of Independent Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah attended the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference where he met the Indian Premier, Mr. Nehru for the first time. In March, 1958, he was host to eleven countries which met at Accra to set up an inter-African mutual assistance organisation in Africa South of the Sahara. The following month he inaugurated a conference of independent African states, again at Accra, to consider problems of common concern. Following this conference, Dr. Nkrumah made a tour of the countries which had sent delegations to it.

Soon after his tour of Africa, Dr. Nkrumah visited North America where he was the guest of Mr. John G. Defienbaker the Canadian Prime Minister in Ottawa and President Eisenhower in Washington.

In December, 1957 Dr. Nkrumah married an Egyptian citizen, Miss Fathia Halen Ritzk, who had been a student at the University of Cairo. The Prime Minister and his wife reside in the 300-year-old Government House in the Osu section of the capital city of Accra.

[North Carolina, University of]

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SOUTHERN HISTORICAL COLLECTION
JAMES W. PATTON, DIRECTOR

July 23, 1958

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
Thirty-one Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have recently been informed by Mr. Peter B. Young, one of our graduate students who has visited you, that you are still in possession of the vast quantity of correspondence and other papers that you have accumulated during your long and distinguished career. Mr. Young has told me of his suggestion to you to consider the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina as a suitable depository for the permanent preservation of these important papers. I am writing to say that we should be highly pleased to have the honor of becoming the custodians of your papers, and to explain to you some of the reasons why I think this institution would be a suitable depository for them.

41-18-10

Our Southern Historical Collection is one of the most outstanding depositories of southern materials now in existence at any one place. Our materials, now numbering approximately three million items, are drawn from every southern state and represent every phase and period of southern history. Naturally we have a vast amount of material in our Collection relating to the history of the Negro race, and this transcends the boundaries of the South and becomes nationwide and indeed worldwide in its implications. Our Collection is so well and widely known among historical scholars that it has come to be recognized that it is extremely difficult to write a book on southern life without at some time visiting and consulting the material in the Southern Historical Collection.

The University of North Carolina takes pride in the Southern Historical Collection and gives it generous support. We not only have adequate quarters with air-conditioned and fire resistant storage facilities, but also a highly trained staff of five persons who give their entire time to the supervision and management of the Collection. It is my understanding that you wish your papers, wherever they may come, to be completely unrestricted as to use by any competent researcher. I wish to assure you that such procedure is a long established policy of the Southern Historical Collection and of the University of North Carolina. Should your papers come here, you need have no fear that they would be suppressed or restricted as to use at any time and by any person. In other words, they would be given exactly the same care and attention that we give to other materials in our Collection. In fact, our problem has never been one of dealing with donors who want assurance that their papers will <u>not</u> be restricted. The only problem that we have ever had to deal with in this respect is with persons who, for one reason or another, want their papers restricted.

Mr. Young has told me that Mr. Herbert Aptheker is now engaged in some species of work that requires access to your papers, and that you have committed yourself to make these papers available exclusively to him for a period of time. Should

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA LIBRARY
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL COLLECTION
JAMES W. PATTON, DIRECTOR

the papers come here and you wished to allow Mr. Aptheker to have the exclusive use of them, we should be perfectly willing to accommodate you and Mr. Aptheker in this respect for any reasonable period.

41-18-11

Another reason for our suggesting the University of North Carolina as a suitable depository for your papers is that in addition to having one of the most distinguished departments of southern history in the United States, it also has, as you know, an equally distinguished Department of Sociology. Professor Howard W. Odum, who needs no introduction to you, was for many years head of this department, and upon his death his correspondence was deposited in the Southern Historical Collection. It of course constitutes one of our most valuable acquisitions.

I enclose a small pamphlet which describes in some detail the purposes and activities of our Collection. I shall be pleased to correspond with you further if you so desire; to answer any questions regarding the Collection and this invitation which may occur to you; and to come to New York and talk with you in person about the matter at any time convenient to you.

Trusting that the above proposals may appeal to you, and that I may have the privilege of further correspondence with you, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

James W. Patton

James W. Patton

JWP:ja
Enclos.

June 30, 1958

Mr. George Padmore
Prime Minister's Office
P.O. Box 1627
Accra, Ghana, West Africa

My dear

This has just been sent me. I am wondering if you know about it.

At any rate, I am forwarding it to you and asking what, if any, connection it has with the Pan African Movement.

Shirley and I are waiting for further word from you and the Prime Minister.

Best regards to you and Dorothy.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:RR

W. E. B. Du BOIS
81 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

March 12, 1958

Mr. and Mrs. Meyer Parodniek
278 Hicks street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear friends:

I have not yet been able to wear that shirt which you kindly sent me for my birthday, but one of these days I shall array myself in it. Meantime thank you very much for your kind thought.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

42-3-82

May 13, 1958

1757 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

42-54-126

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am an undergraduate in the junior class at Yale University, and I am writing my history honors thesis on your role as a publicist on the Crisis from 1909-1932. In gathering my materials I have found that certain of your letters are in the James Weldon Johnson collection in the Yale University Library, but that I need your permission to look at them. The librarian has given me your address, so that I could write you for this permission. I was also at the Schromburg Collection of the New Yok Public Library on 135th Street last week, and the librarian there said that some of your manuscripts were there, but I was so busy studying other material that I forgot to ask if I also needed your permission to see them also. If this is necessary, I would appreciate this permission.

This thesis is merely part of my major and for my own interest, so that it will not be published or be available for public perusal. Nevertheless, I feel I should do as competent a job as I can, and the more information I can get on this period the better no matter how factual, for only in this way can I grasp the issues you faced during these years as editor of the Crisis. I have been busily reading some of your books and articles as well as the issues of the Crisis, and I would appreciate any further materials or information which you can give me. Perhaps you know of some other people I could contact who might be able to help me also.

I hope I have not troubled you too much with these requests as I am still at the formative stages of this paper and do not have any really constructive questions to ask you personally. I would very much like to meet you sometime and talk to you for a few minutes if this is possible. At any rate, I hope to hear from you concerning my requests. Thank you again.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Patterson

David S. Patterson

42-54-144

June 4, 1958

Mr David S. Patterson
1757 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

My dear Mr. Patterson:

Your letter found me away from home, and I just have a chance to answer it.

I am sure I am too late to be of any use to you. However, if there is still need, you have my permission to examine the material in the Yale University Library.

I am sure that anything at the Schromburg Collection in New York, would be open to you with proper credentials.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:RR

[Patterson, W 2]

MEMORANDUM

DATE: January 14, 1958

TO: Dr/ W E B Du Bois
Paul Robeson
Ben Davis
James Jackson
James Allen
Alexander Trachtenberg

RE: Symposium: "The Meaning of Little Rock"

FROM: William L. Patterson

Dear friends:

Based upon the general agreement entered into between Alexander Trachtenberg as publisher, his associate James Allen, and Benjamin J. Davis, James Jackson, and myself, I contacted Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and Paul Robeson.

Both men accepted the project and agreed to participate in accordance with the outline.

The outline I consider as a general guide subject to such modifications as may be regarded as necessary after discussion.

All materials should be in not later than the last of April unless unforeseen events change the schedule. For purposes of critical editorial discussion, I should be notified as soon as any section is finished in order to call a meeting.

Each participant will be informed of the specific arrangement made with Trachtenberg. I am again presenting each of you with the general outline. If there is any desire to change this in any way, please let me know at once.

The responsibilities being carried by each participant make it necessary that someone should follow through and see that the calendar does not run away with time unawares. I shall therefore drop notes periodically to all to appraise each of the time remaining.

The section assigned to Mr. John Pittman will be taken up by one or several of the participants.

There is little need here to stress the political importance of bringing such material as is here envisioned before the American public. I therefore won't attempt it.

Sincerely yours,

William L Patterson

WLP/el

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

2-58-37

January 14, 1958

THE MEANING OF LITTLE ROCK

A Symposium

I. Contributors

W. E, B. Du Bois; Paul Robeson; Ben Davis; James Jackson; William L. Patterson

II. INTRODUCTION. W E B Du Bois:
(a) Little Rock: Looking Backward and Forward
(b) The Negro in the Present Struggle for Peace and Freedom
(c) Socialism the Ultimate Outlook

III. LABOR AND THE NEGRO AT LITTLE ROCK-- James Jackson:
(a) A Labor-Negro alliance
(b) Labor's failure at Little Rock
(c) [redacted] The Role of Racism in Labor Ranks

[redacted]
IV. ECONOMIC FORCES BEHIND LITTLE ROCK -- Ben Davis:
(a) The Racist Concepts of Imperialism
(b) The One-Party System in the South
(c) States' Rights over the Constitution
(d) Do we need a Civil Rights Pa ty?

V. THE COLONIAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND LITTLE ROCK
(a) The Bandung conference and Little Rock
(b) Ideological Unity
(c) Mutual aims; anti-imperialism and anti-racism.

VI. UNITED NATIONS AND LITTLE ROCK:
(a) Racism destroys the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
(b) America's Relations with Negroes Violates the Charter of the UN

VII. AMERICAN CULTURE, THE NEGRO, AND LITTLE ROCK:
(a) Arbitrary retardation of Negro culture
(b) The creative genius of the Negro people

42-5B-38

A SYMPOSIUM: THE MEANING OF LITTLE ROCK

By W E B Du Bois, James Jackson, Benjamin J. Davis, William L. Patterson, Paul Robeson

I. INTRODUCTION (W. E. B. Du BOIS)

A. The Negro's weight in the struggle for American democracy. An historical survey linking past and present phases of the Negro liberation struggle.

II. LABOR AND THE NEGRO PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT (James Jackson)

A. Historic role of labor. How the racist attitude of unions weakens the struggle for American democracy.
B. A labor-Negro alliance. What it is and what it does. The anti-Jim-Crow nature of such an alliance. The bi-lateral character. The distinction between incidental and sporadic support and an alliance.
C. Is there need for a civil rights party?
D. Possibilities of forming a political party of labor, Negro people, poor farm elements, liberals. The two-party system as a deterrent to the creation of such a party.
E. The mutual enemies. Who they are and why.

III. SCIENTIFIC CHARACTER OF STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO LIBERATION (Ben Davis)
A. Economic forces in the South. The racist concepts of American im-

perialism. Their role in the American concept of divide and rule.
B. States rights -- its ascendancy over the Constitution.
C. The one-party system in the South. The rising movement of Negro struggle in the U. S. Vital significance of the right to vote.
D. Can the Negro secure equality under capitalism?

IV. COLONIAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE.

A. The Asian-African Bandung Conference. Historic impact on Negro movements.
B. The socialist revolution and the fight against racism.
C. Anti-imperialism -- anti-racism -- their mutual aims. The merging currents of struggle for human dignity.
D. The United Nations and the Negro. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

V. THE NEGRO AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT (William L. Patterson)

A. Racist contradictions in capitalist society. How they are introduced and nurtured.
B. Violation of the constitutional rightsof the Negro. The Bill of Rights and the 14th and 15th amendments.
C. Precedents for the use of troops to protect Negro rights and Constitutional government.
D. The three branches of government and Negro rights. Their failure to co-ordinate in defense of Negro rights. The role of the Department of Justice. Is there a conspiracy of government to defraud the Negro of his constitutional heritage?
E. Jim-Crow and segregation policies of the government and why?
F. Lincoln's admonition: government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

VI. THE NEGRO AND AMERICAN CULTURE (Paul Robeson)

A. The bankruptcy of bourgeois culture. The caricaturing of the Negro -- why.
B. The Negro in the arts. The entertainer and the artist.

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42-5B-39

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

197 E. FOURTH STREET • NEW YORK 9, N. Y. • ORegon 3-3800

January 16, 1958

+

42-5c-18

Dear Doctor:

The following request came to me in a letter from Cedric Belfrage:

"Can you suggest anything special that I could send the Dr. for his birthday, which would really mean something to him? I would send my head on a charger but the mails are fussy and he wouldn't care for it anyway. Please try to think of something."

Since I haven't any way of knowing how you feel about his head or a substitute gift, I am enclosing a self-addressed envelope for you to use if you see fit.

Love & Kisses,

Theodora Peck

January 29, 1958

Mrs. Theodora Peck
c/o The Guardian
197 East 4 Street
New York City 9

Dear Theodora:

I do not know what on earth to say to Cedric. Perhaps you might suggest a book or two, very old or very recent, on Africa. Of course I have the books of Padmore and Nkrumah. The head on a charger would be acceptable if it could talk.

Thank you for all you are doing.

Yours with love,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

42-50-17

12-50-49

July 28, 1958

Miss Theodora Peck
Nation Guardian
New York City

My very dear Theodora:

I have one good job for you which I know you'll be glad to do, having practically no work during the summer. Next spring the income tax department of our deeply appreciated government will be asking where I got all the money which I put in my savings account this year. Will you then be so good as to prepare a little statement signed by the officers of the Du Bois Fund and say that they had put in my hands as a gift in celebration of my birthday such and such sums of money and that they certify the truth of this by their signatures. If this needs to be notarized, your colleagues will let you know. I am sorry to bother you with this but it will be easier now than later. We sail August 8th on the Liberte.

All my love,

P

11/2-58-2/7

51 Beverly Hill Road
Clifton, New Jersey
November 18, 1958

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I am in high school and preparing for a debate. The topic is "Should racial problems be used as a weapon for propaganda." Since you are connected with the N.A.A.C.P. I was wondering if you could send me any information that would help point out that racial problems should <u>not</u> be used as a weapon for propaganda. Any information would be appreciated.

Yours truly
Miss Diane Pelka

2611B Garvey Avenue
Alhambra, California
September 30, 1958

W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am a graduate student in American history at Los Angeles State College, and I am presently doing a considerable amount of research on your role in the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I would feel deeply honored if you might give me some advice or information which I could use in the preparation of my paper.

The NAACP is playing a vital role in our contemporary society, and any new light which you could shed upon its origins would be of great interest to me as well as to those who will be reading my paper.

Thank you very much for your interest and attention in this matter.

Very truly yours,

Richard V. Pierard

RICHARD V. PIERARD

42-58-5

[Prathis]

Pittsburgh THE Courier
2628 Centre Ave. MUseum 3-2000
PITTSBURGH 19, PA.

Office of the Editor

43-48-157

January 5, 1957 [1958]

Dear Dr.DuBois and Shirley:

What a glorious projection into the unknown future is a great grandson! What hopes, what dreams, you must have for him. If children could only know how Nature has endowed us with the gift of caring for and loving our youngsters, maybe more of our dreams would be realized. All too often great fathers (or even great grandfathers) do not have great sons and daughters. I do not know whether that was meant to be or not. There seems to come a time when some members of a new generation reject the preceding generation. That would be all to the good if they clung to the good in the past and charted out new and daring paths. But very often they do nothing. I do hope that the great grandson of the originalDuBois will be impressed by the fact that he is a DuBois and that he can truly trace his ancestry back, back, back to generations now obscure. I hope this realization and the knowledge of DuBois achievement will inspire him to play in the future the magnificent role for which his heritage has prepared him.

Hunton's book is a terrific indictment. I don't think any fair-minded American could read it without a feeling of guilt. That goes for Horace Mann Bond, too. Or do you know the story on Horace? As it has come to me, the story is something like this. In the early days when they were setting up the Liberia Mining Corporation, they needed friends, particularly friends with entree in Liberia. I assume Horace (Lincoln) was one of these. I imagine he wrote some letters which turned some tricks. Anyhow, he ended up with 100 shares of stock which, I presume, he threw in his dresser drawer as reminders that he had play a significant role. Recently, after they booted him out at Lincoln University, he began to think about these 100 shares. He wondered what they were worth. Somebody told him they were worth $1000.00 a share. He was flabbergasted. He couldn't believe it. He had to bite into the pie to discover the taste. So he went and sold ONE share and received ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS! Didn't he come by ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS easily--just by using his influence?

I think I have recovered from the effects of the penicillin I took. However, I had two more mishaps. I fell down a pair of stairs in Cleveland and, for a while, feared I had broken my back. But I was able to keep on going. My doctor did not think my back was broken although he took no X-rays. The accident occurred in late November. I am about over

THE Pittsburgh Courier
2628 Centre Ave. MUseum 3-2000
PITTSBURGH 19, PA.

42-119-15

Office of the Editor

the pain caused by the fall. Two weeks after that fall, I leaned back in my chair in the office to take hold of the telephone. Apparently, I forgot that even chairs have fulcrums and, before I could do anything, I was flat on my back on the floor. Fortunately, I did not strike my head, nor did I hurt my back. The chair took the beating. The back of the chair (a swivel) was ruined. So you can see I have been having my downs without any ups.

Nevertheless, I now feel good. If I could only sleep with your regularity, I wouldn't have a worry in the world. Each new night brings me a problem of sleeping. Doctors don't seem to have been able to do much about it. They want to ascribe my insomnia to worry and tension. I am not worried. If I am tense, I would hope they could do something about that.

Christmas went by without much ado. It is made for young folk and merchants. My daughter (sixteen going on twenty-one) was on the go constantly. Each night her mother and I went to bed wondering whether she'd return home all in one piece. She did. Now we are concerned about college. We are planning for her to enter Carnegie Tech in September, but books and boys don't mix. I'm not sure that she does not prefer boys.

I hope and I believe you had a pleasant Christmas season. As a matter of fact, I believe all the seasons bring you comfort and joy. Sure, you are not satisfied with the world. But you are too intelligent and are possessed of too much good humor to try the herculean task of carrying the world on your shoulders.

May 1958 continue to bring you comfort and satisfaction.

Sincerely,

Pittis

123 West 88th
Sandoval -
Mexican artist

[Pratt is]

THE Pittsburgh Courier
2628 Centre Ave. MUseum 3-2000
PITTSBURGH 19, PA.

Office of the Editor

42-54-239

June 10, 1958

Dear Dr. DuBois:

First, I must thank you and Shirley for the card which you sent me from the Caribbean.

Second, I want you to know that I dokeep up with your travels and lectures across the country.

Third, you should know that there are others who do the same. Only this week, Mrs. Dunmigan, our Washington columnist, has written into her column the information your letter brought me. I am enclosing a tear sheet from this week's Courier.

My health is good even though my bones creak. I shall avoid penicillin much more sternly than the devil in the future.

I hope your health and that of Shirley continues good. I also hope, later in the year, to have the chance to see both of you again. I would like for you to know my daughter who is finishing high school this week--at sixteen--with high honor. One of her most absorbing subjects is boys.

Incidentally, why has no one ordained Lothrop Stoddard a prophet for his "Rising Tide of Color"? He could read signs.

Sincerely,

Pratt is

(PRESENCE AFRICAINE)

January 6, 1958

42-514-13

M. Alioum-Diop
17, Rue de Chaligny
Paris (XII)
Dorian 38-39
C.C.P. Paris
France

My dear M. Diop:

Answering your kind letter of November 28, may I say that I am in my ninetieth year and have already undertaken to finish more literary work than I shall probably live to do. It will therefore be quite impossible for me to promise any articles for your magazine. I am sorry not to be able to comply with your request.

Sincerely,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

MOYNE COLLEGE
THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION FOUNDED BY
18-70
CONSECRATION COURAGE TRUTH

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 19, 1958

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
"Salute to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Today in America there are many Negro scholars of ability and great promise.

I am certain that many of them received their inspiration from your work as a scholar, and in this you have made a great contribution to America.

Sincerely yours,

Hollis F. Price

Hollis F. Price

27-290-83

41-19F-1

July 14, 1958

D.N. Pritt, Q.C.
Cloisters Temple
E.C. 4 London

My dear Mr. Pritt:

May I thank you heartily for your kind greeting of March 1 from Ceylon. I have known of your work for so long and favorably that I count you as a friend and am sure we think alike along many lines. My birthday was very pleasing and as I at last have passports I and my wife, Shirley Graham, hope that we may see you in London this fall. My address will be % Cedric Belfrage 16 Talbot Square, London W.2.

Very sincerely yours,

REKTOR
UNIVERSITY KARLOVY

V Praze 24. října 1958

Vážený pan
prof. dr. W.E.B. Du Bois

41-11c.13

Vážený pane profesore,

příjměte, prosím, Vy i Vaše paní, malou pozornost, jako vzpomínku na naši universitu a na Váš pobyt v Československu.

My všichni budeme velmi rádi vzpomínat na Vaši vzácnou návštěvu a na vzácná slova Vašeho projevu, za něž Vám upřímně děkujeme.

Přeji Vám hodně zdraví a sil pro Vaši velikou a záslužnou práci.

S upřímným pozdravem

Váš

Procházka

prof. dr. J. Procházka,
rektor

PURDUE UNIVERSITY
STATION WBAA
LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

APRIL 17, 1958

DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS
31 GRACE COURT
BROOKLYN 7, N.Y.

DEAR SIR:

42-54718

THIS STATION IS INTERESTED IN PRODUCING A SERIES OF RADIO PROGRAMS FOR NATIONAL DISTRIBUTION DEVOTED TO THE POSITION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN OUR CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY. THE PROGRAMS WOULD FIRST OF ALL, SHOW THE LIMITATIONS PLACED UPON THE NEGRO IN ALL AREAS OF SOCIETY, AND THEN DEAL WITH THE HISTORICAL FORCES WHICH HAVE CREATED THESE LIMITATIONS. IN DOING THIS WE WOULD ATTEMPT TO EXPOSE MUCH OF THE FALLACIOUS THINKING REGARDING THE NEGRO WHICH SUCH A GREAT PORTION OF OUR POPULATION ENGAGES IN.

WE ARE WRITING TO YOU IN THE HOPE THAT YOU WILL OFFER US YOUR COOPERATION IN GATHERING MATERIAL, PARTICULARLY RECORDED INTERVIEWS AND/OR STATEMENTS FROM YOU AND OTHERS.

IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN COOPERATING WITH US, WOULD YOU PLEASE AT YOUR EARLIEST CONVENIENCE, DROP US A LINE INDICATING YOUR WILLINGNESS? WE ASK THIS AS WE ARE PLANNING TO MAKE AN ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN OUTSIDE FUNDS TO PARTIALLY DEFRAY THE COSTS OF PRODUCTION, AND OUR PROPOSAL MUST BE SUBMITTED PRIOR TO MAY 1 OF THIS YEAR.

SINCERELY YOURS,

E. W. Richter

E. W. RICHTER
PRODUCER

EWR/JW

April 24, 1938

42-50-119

Mr. E. W. Richter
Purdue University
Lafayette, Ind.

Dear Sir: Station WBAA

Answering your letter of April 17th, may I say that I have given interviews and written statements concerning the position of the American Negro in our contemporary society. They can be found in nearly all libraries.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:RM

42-54-143

CHARLES W. PUTTKAMMER
31 LITTLE HALL
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

March 5, 1958

Dear Professor Du Bois,

It is over a month now since I spoke with you about Monroe Trotter. I meant to write sooner in appreciation for your giving me your time but found the demands of the first draft to be very great.

It is unusual when a man is willing to contribute as much to the cause of justice as Trotter did. It's too bad that his work has been so largely forgotten, but the value of it remains.

Sincerely,

Charles Puttkammer

[Richter]

HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITÄT ZU BERLIN

DER REKTOR
-Sekretär-

BERLIN W 8, den 20.11.1958 Ri/We.
Unter den Linden 6
Telefon 20 02 91

Herrn
Professor Dr.h.c. W.E.B. Du Bois
z.Zt. Moskau

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor !

In der Anlage übersende ich Ihnen Bildmaterialien von Ihrem Aufenthalt in Berlin sowie sämtliche in Zeitungen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik erschienenen Pressenotizen von Ihrem hiesigen Aufenthalt.

Ich hoffe und wünsche, dass Ihnen die Tage in Berlin in guter Erinnerung sind und dass wir Sie mindestens zu unserem 150. Jahrestag wieder begrüßen dürfen.
Der Aufenthalt in der Sowjetunion wird Ihnen sicher noch mehr Vergnügen bereiten, als es die wenigen Tage in Berlin konnten, vor allem sind Sie dort im Zentrum der echten "neuen Welt".
Einen uns zugegangenen Brief an Sie lege ich Ihnen bei.
Einige Bilder übersende ich ebenfalls an W. Patterson.

Mit den herzlichsten Grüßen an Sie und
Ihre Gattin und den allerbesten Wünschen
für die Zukunft verbleibe ich
Ihr sehr ergebener

Richter.

(Dr.Richter)

42-58-1

(92) Bm G 096/58 2.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

.=N BA296 SYJ337 OB328

O SFA880 NL PD=SAN FRANCISCO CALIF 5= 1943 APR 5 PM 8 38

DR W E B DUBOIS=
31 GRACE COURT BROOKLYN NY=

WE NEED AT ONCE FOR AN IMPORTANT PEACE PAGEANT THE WORD PEACE REPEAT PEACE AS WRITTEN IN BANTU REPEAT BANTU SOP CAN YOU HELP US. STOP IF POSSIBLE COULDYOU AIRMAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY THE WORD PEACE IN TWO INCH AND THREE INCH SIZES. SPECIAL THANKS FOR YOUR HELP=
HOLLAND ROBERTS.

42-2A-50

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

HOLLAND
ROBERTS
FOR STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Campaign Headquarters: 345 FRANKLIN STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIF.

11

4/2-4/8-19

April 11, 1958

Dear Dr. Du Bois

My thanks for your efforts. Our San Francisco sculptor, Beniamino Bufano, is taking advantage of the dedication of his great thirty-foot statue to peace at the San Francisco International Airport this coming Saturday afternoon to place around the base the word PEACE in representative languages of the dark-skinned people of the earth. I had written to Professor Hunton and he was able to help us.

I hope you can look at the statue if you come in at the airport.

It will be very good to see you.

Every good wish

Holland

Holland Roberts

Box 392
S.F. 1, Cal

100

[Roberts]

42/48/5

Text of statement by Holland Roberts upon announcing his candidacy for the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction:

I am entering the race for the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction because, like all thinking Americans, I am deeply concerned at the crisis in our schools.

I hope that my candidacy will help arouse the people of California to the full magnitude of this national emergency, and the things that must be done to meet it.

Almost two decades of war and cold war have starved our school system. The staggering Federal tax burden imposed on the nation to supply some $40 billion a year for the instruments of war has created an understandable resistence to increased taxation at the local level. Thus, the source of funds for education has slowed down to a trickle.

We cannot meet the problems of education in this space age by relying on methods of financing that harken back to the Model T era. The Federal government, which takes the lion's share of the citizen's tax dollar, must assume its share of responsibility for the education of our children.

We cannot get the school buildings and the teachers that the state and nation need unless the Congress appropriates from $8 billion to $10 billion for school construction, teacher training and the employment of qualified teachers.

The office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction can provide leadership to the people of our state in the effort to secure the necessary Federal aid.

I enter the campaign with these convictions:

We owe every American child education up to the full limits of his abilities and desires. Nothing less will maintain our democracy and enable us to continue our progress as a great nation.

To fulfill this obligation, we need enough qualified teachers. Today, one out of every ten teachers in the state has only temporary credentials. We need 45,000 new qualified teachers for the fall of 1958. Adequate salaries, beginning at $5,000 per year and reaching $10,000 at the end of 10 years service, will help us get them. If we want professional men and women, we must supply them with a professional standard of living. If we want teachers to encourage our children to think, we must end the "loyalty" oaths and other restrictions that discourage teachers from thinking independently.

The second need is adequate school facilities. We need 300 new schools at once to relieve over-crowding and give every child a full day's schooling. Today 200,000 California children are on half-day sessions. Let us put union men to work on building the 4,000 classrooms our children lack, with the necessary libraries, science laboratories and gymnasiums.

To enable teachers to teach and children to learn the size of classes should be reduced to 20.

The present political hysteria about the curriculum in the schools will

text of statement by Holland Roberts

not help improve it. The underlying thought behind such hysteria is that our school system must be geared to produce intellectual cogs for a military-scientific machine to serve a cold war that will never end.

Our education must be geared to a sounder, more human aim. Our children should be taught science and mathematics, not to meet some imagined cold war need, but because knowledge of science is essential for a functioning, intelligent citizen in this space age.

Our children should be taught the practice of democracy by the fullest integration of our schools, and the removal of all jimcrow barriers in the hiring of teachers.

By the same token our children should be taught about the contributions made by organized labor to the advancement of democracy and social welfare in our country.

The crisis in education is not just a crisis of money, of buildings or of personnel. It is a moral and social crisis. It is a crisis of social values that can find unlimited money for the most awesome instruments of death, but not the funds to guarantee every child a full education.

I enter this campaign, having devoted 40 years of my life to the field of education, because I believe the challenging problems listed above must be presented before the voters of California. I have a profound democratic faith that the common sense and good judgment of our people can solve those problems.

In that spirit I appeal for the support and the vote of all citizens who agree with the program I have outlined above.

-end-

42/48/6

April 24, 1958

Mr. Holland Roberts
P.O. Box 392
San Francisco 1, Cal.

Dear Mr. Roberts:

I am sorry that I did not get a chance to see you while in California.

I am writing to wish you good luck in your campaign for State Superintendent.

We stayed with the Hallinans and they were talking of your campaign.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:RM

42-5B-9

HOLLAND
ROBERTS
FOR STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Campaign Headquarters: 345 FRANKLIN STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIF.

June 9, 1958

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois;

I am very much interested in the call for a Socialist conference for the middle of June and particularly in your own outlook and recommendations. If you should present a paper there, I would be very happy to see a copy in case it is not published in the Guardian.

I am enclosing a copy of our final election bulletin which I thought would interest you and others in some of the possibilities.

Every good wish to you and Shirley,

Holland Roberts

Holland Roberts

HR/rp

42-3-207

HOLLAND ROBERTS FOR STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Campaign Headquarters: 345 FRANKLIN STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIF.

FINAL ELECTION BULLETIN -- June 6, 1958

42/3/57

OUR CAMPAIGN WAS A SUCCESS BEYOND ALL EXPECTATIONS

OUR STATE VOTE AS OF THURSDAY, JUNE 5, WAS 350,945 with 3,000 precincts still to be counted.

We ran ahead of Calvert who was endorsed by the Chronicle, many other papers, and the CIO. With a month's earlier start, 200 more workers, and another $5,000, we could have put Holland in the runoffs.

THE PROOF is shown in the following figures, a comparison of 3 precincts in the East Bay with similar middle class and working class background and no minorities.

Precinct	Simpson	Roberts	Calvert	Everett	Total Vote
#1 (people visited door-to-door)	49	32	19	23	159
#2 (no visits, leaflet mailed)	47	32	21	23	153
#3 (nothing done)	39	16	20	33	146

OVER 300 PEOPLE participated in the campaign in Northern California alone. Active committees carried on the work in San Francisco, the East Bay, the Palo Alto-San Jose-Santa Cruz area, Petaluma, Santa Rosa, Marin, Los Angeles, Long Beach and San Diego. Youth groups were active in the San Francisco Bay area, and the Humanists in Los Angeles and East Bay. Many individuals did outstanding jobs in these and other places.

TO DO THE FOLLOWING WE RAISED SOME $3,400 IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

* Distributed over 100,000 pieces of material of all kinds (180,00 in the State)
* Mailed material to several thousand unions
* Spoke before 40 unions, many civic and other groups, including NAACP and Democratic Party clubs
* Mailed over 8,000 leaflets to individuals
* Held three large general meetings in three counties
* Spoke on 13 radio stations -- most of them 15-minute broadcasts -- and had 55 one-minute spots in five different languages and our singing commercials for Holland and better education
* Our candidate appeared on T.V. in Los Angeles and San Diego.
* We took advertisements in the San Francisco News

PARTIES AND DINNERS WERE HELD IN SIX COUNTIES

We had excellent turnouts and considerable funds were raised.

AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE, INC.

FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION

HOLLAND ROBERTS, *President*
ROSE ISAAK, *Secretary*

90 McALLISTER ST.
San Francisco 2, Calif.
UNderhill 1-3813

27th ANNIVERSARY YEAR

42-58-27

July 12, 1958

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Dear Shirley Graham:

I am enclosing a copy of a memorandum. It would be valuable to me if I had your thinking on these and other aspects of our organizational problems.

Sincerely

Holland

July 12, 1958

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL MEMORANDUM

TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATION
STOCKHOLM WORLD PEACE COUNCIL CONFERENCE

Copies sent to:
Paul Robeson
Scott Nearing
Anna Louise Strong
Robert and Marilyn Harris

42-58-28

This memorandum is in partial reply to a letter of inquiry received from Mr. F. Vigne of the staff of the World Peace Council on the question of U. S. representation in the W.P.C., but I am taking this opportunity to deal briefly with some of the larger issues.

1. That the danger of a World War of annihilation is great and growing with the days few thoughtful people dispute.

Dr. Albert Schweitzer's second major appeal to the people of the world to mobilize their forces to overcome the critical danger in which we all live has stated the facts in a reasoned and poignant document. Other statements by scientists, statesmen and other prominant personages in the world are in basic agreement.

2. The growth of S.A.N.E., the WALKS FOR PEACE in several American cities and the organizational and individual statements against the tests and for disarmament are welcome signs that the people of the United States are stirring, and that much can now be done.

3. The small representation from the U.S. at Stockholm is an indication of the isolation of American peace workers from joint activities in the world scene and in particular of the lack of effort to acquaint our people with the work of the W.P.C. and to interest them in it. So far as I know, no attempt was made this year to build a delegation from the U. S.

4. The present critical and even decisive role of the U. S. in turning the balances for war or peace high-lights the separation of American peace workers from the W.P.C. Unity of thought, program, and action can be and must be striven for, and it can be attained. How?

The U. S. delegation can, I am certain, work out concrete proposals. I am making the following suggestions in the hope that they will be of use in your discussion.

1. The W.P.C. should concentrate on broadening the work for the immediate future. It can do this in the following and other ways:

a. By establishing a Liason Committee of the W.P.C. whose work will be the development of close relations with leading broad peace organizations of other countries and particularly with the U. S. and elsewhere in North and South America. This can be done by correspondence, individual and group conferences, cooperation in joint programs and projects, and steadfast public support by the W.P.C. of work done by leading peace groups and peace leaders on a local as well as national scale. The important thing is the development of close working relationships between members of the W.P.C. and peace groups and peace leaders in the U. S. and in other countries.

b. By broadening and enlarging its representation in the U. S., especially among trade unions, churches and minority peoples. Some capable representatives in the U. S. should give full time to peace work, working jointly wherever possible for and with other peace groups.

c. By considering the calling of a Bureau meeting of the W.P.C. meeting to organize its structure and work so that it would represent the broad peace forces of the entire world.

2. The W.P.C. should work with other national and international organizations to establish a Federation of world peace organizations with the purpose of advancing cooperative effort. Such a Federation could encourage both independent and cooperative action for peace and recognize and publicize both widely. It could do this in a variety of ways, including peace festivals, with many national and international awards for rank and file people in all the fields of culture: music, graphic and plastic arts, literature, theatre, press radio, T. V., cinema and the dance, history, philosophy, education and other major areas.

Stress needs to be laid on encouraging the active daily participation of rank and file, youth, minority peoples, women,

42-SB-29

trade unionists and active church members. When we do this new leaders will arise to give the world peace movement a fresh impetus and drive it forward to decisive victories.

The question of elections to membership in the World Peace Council raised by Mr. F. Vig ne in his letter of July 2nd is a secondary one, so far as the United States is concerned. As he suggested it may be well to defer nominations until more basic work has been done. If, however, there are to be some additions now, I suggest the following well known peace workers for consideration:

Mrs. Eslanda Robeson
Dr. Anna Louise Strong
A leading member of the staff of the National Guardian such as Louis Burnham

42-5B-30

Holland Roberts

for cultural relations with the Soviet Union

AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE
INCORPORATED

90 McALLISTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIFORNIA • UNderhill 1-3813

HOLLAND ROBERTS, *President* ROSE ISAAK, *Secretary*

8

42-54-43

August 1, 1958

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It is very good news that you are to see some of the officers of the W.P.C. when you are abroad. I have had correspondence with V. Duncan Jones, F. Vigne and Frederic Joliot-Curie.

Scott Nearing wrote me from Stockholm that I have been elected to the Bureau. I have not yet had official confirmation. If you should have opportunity to discuss the relationship of the American members of the Council with the leadership abroad, it would be good if we knew what direction they plan to take and how we can cooperate. I am sure we can devise ways to work together, but like you do not see clearly.

Best wishes to you and Shirley for an enjoyable and productive trip. Please give my greetings to our mutual friends.

Cordially yours
Holland Roberts
Holland Roberts per RI.

HR:ri
OP/34;cio

The enclosures show the direction of our work here

June 30, 1958

42-59-45

Mr. Paul Robeson
16 Jumel Terrace
N.Y. 32, N.Y.

My dear Paul:

Shirley and I join in congratulations.

Let us hear from you before you leave.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:Rk

1532 N. 55th St.
Phila. 31, Pa.
Feb. 20, 1958

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Nat'l Guardian - 197 E. 4th St. N.Y. 9, N.Y.
New York. N.Y.

42-5B-44

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you in the flush of excitement and thrill from just laying down the pages of the 2/17/58 Guardian. This compulsion to write to you, sir, arises from a succession of events of recent dates which number among them my reading of your "Souls ☆☆☆;" "Black Reconstruction"; Hughes' "Pictorial ☆☆" Janet Stevenson's "Weep No More" then your and Louis Burnham's message.

Perhaps you could advise me as to the best course that I should pursue under the following facts:

I am persuaded that socialism is the key to man's progress. I am persuaded further that the best for all is a world where the ideals of communism will triumph. I am persuaded that the Negro in America can be a prime mover toward this goal as he continues to press for that niche not "one jot or tittle less than his full manhood rights." What can and should I do to make this at least one step closer? Here are my tools:

1. I am manager and a member of the Board of Directors of one of the larger Negro-controlled life insurance companies (Pennsylvania).
2. Recently received a law degree and examined for the Penna. bar. (Sadie T. M. Alexander is preceptor)

3. I have had a degree of experience in trade unionism - organizing, etc.

4. I have sponsored various concerts for Paul Robeson, (formal and informal sponsoring groups).

5. Progressive Party background (National board)

6. Varied experiences in fights and struggles for civil rights

42-58-45

Incidentally I was elevated to this position in this insurance company with the "powers" full knowledge of my so-called radicalism, plus visits from the F. B. I. concerning me, and my intentions to so continue on a personal basis (hence no company letterhead here)

I have also a further persuasion on which I am hoping you will comment. I am

"charged" with the idea that we must introduce an integrated history into all levels of the public schools, throughout our land and have this history replace the present ones. Give me your feeling as to the practicality of this dream, and if it is practical, what sum of money must I raise to have you or your designee to write such a history? I know of the "Association for the Study of Negro Life and History Inc." What is your opinion on this?

I've had some interesting racial struggles and small victories therefrom during a short army career. They (army officials) seemed quite happy to give me an honorable (and fast) discharge with a pension.

I sincerely apologize for this incoherency and I hope that it does not offend you so much that you will not answer me. But I do believe that this spontaneity has preserved the emotion which prompted the writing which may have been lost by a more formalized account. I hope that you will be able to take what I have to offer and direct it into the most useful channels toward the dream we share.

42-5B-46

Sincerely yours,

Edward A. Robinson Jr

P.S. For references about me I believe the following will remember me:

Thelma (née) Dale.
Goldie Watson (2335 N. College Ave - Phila.)
Louis E Burnham (stayed at my home in Phila.)

W. E. B. Du BOIS
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

March 6, 1953

Mr. Edward W. Robinson, Jr.
1532 North 55th street
Philadelphia 31, Pa.

My dear Mr. Robinson:

In answer to your letter of February 20; let me say that it is quite impossible to give personal intimate advice to a perfect stranger. I know the persons to whom you refer and am sure they can serve you much better than I. I wish you all success.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

42-578-8

W. E. B. Du BOIS
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

March 12, 1958

Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Rosen
1349 Lexington avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Rosen:

May I thank you for your discriminating taste in furnishing me with excellent champagne. Shirley and I will keep you both in mind as we drink it. I have managed to survive my birthday celebration.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

42-58-6

403 TOBIN BUILDING
1308 BROADWAY

WO. 3-4280
DETROIT 26

MAY 7 - 1958

MEMORANDUM

FROM: JOHN W. ROXBOROUGH, II
ATTORNEY AT LAW

Dr William Edward Burkhart Dubois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Could I kindly have a copy of the recent speech you gave before the Social Science Dept at Howard University?

Thanking you,

May 16, 1958

Mr. John W. Roxborough, II
408 Tobin Bldg.
1308 B'way
Detroit 26, Mich.

My dear Mr. Roxborough:

If you will write the chairman of the Social Science Dept. at Howard University he will be able to furnish you a copy of my address.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:RM

June 30, 1958

42 - SA - 221

Mr. John W. Roxborough, II
405 Tobin Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

My dear Mr. Roxborough:

I have been away from home for several weeks lecturing in California, Chicago and Nashville, Tennessee.

I am having my Chicago speech typed for you and will send it to you, with bill, as soon as the typing is finished.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:RR

403 TOBIN BUILDING
1308 BROADWAY

WO. 3-4280
DETROIT 26

42-5A-47

MEMORANDUM

JUL 13 1958

FROM: JOHN W. ROXBOROUGH, II

TO: DR. W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

Re: My Vain Attempts to Procure a Copy of Your Address Before the Social Science Department at Howard University.

In reply to your letter to me of May 16th, 1958, suggesting that I write to Howard University relative to the above, I wrote another letter to the Social Science Department. I say "another"letter, because upon first reading of your address in the Pittsburgh Courier I forwarded a letter to Howard in quest of a copy of the speech I desire.

Their reply to my first letter was vague and they stated no copies were available. I then wrote direct to you. I have had no reply to my second letter to the Social Science Dept.

403 TOBIN BUILDING
1308 BROADWAY

WO. 3-4280
DETROIT 26

MEMORANDUM

FROM: JOHN W. ROXBOROUGH, II

TO: Dr Du Boid (continued)

I regret the imposition of burdening you with these memoranda, but as a student of international affairs (particularly Africa) and scientific socialism, I very much desire a copy of your speech.

In the event you must be put to any expense in providing me with such a copy, I shall be pleased to defray the same.

42-59-472

J. W. Roxborough

403 TOBIN BUILDING
1308 BROADWAY

WO. 3-4280
DETROIT 26

JUL 17 1950

MEMORANDUM

FROM: JOHN W. ROXBOROUGH, II

TO: W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

42/5a/49

Re: Copy of your Chicago Speech

I am in receipt of the above and enclose herewith find my cheque for $5.00.

LOUIS RUCHAMES

219 Elm Street

Northampton, Massachusetts

42-5A-44

June 24, 1958

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Ct.
Brooklyn 7, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am editing a volume by and about John Brown of Harper's Ferry fame. The volume is to be published by Abelard-Schuman.

I should like to use a selection from your book on John Brown, pages 352-356, and would deeply appreciate it if I could secure your permission to print it.

I shall, of course, indicate that the selection is being reprinted from your book and that I do so with your permission.

Sincerely yours,

Louis Ruchames

Louis Ruchames

LR:bjd

42-5A-42

June 30, 1958

Mr. Louis Ruchames
219 Elm Street
Northampton, Massachusetts

My dear Mr. Ruchames:

You have my permission to use extracts from my "John Brown" if you will give due credit.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:RR

Cables: "Ruslibri, New York" *Telephone: GRamercy 5-4810*

RUSSELL & RUSSELL · INC

PUBLISHERS

80 EAST 11TH STREET · NEW YORK 3

1 February 1958

Dear Dr DuBois:

The book moves slowly but I think gathering a little momentum at the lowered price. We are glad to be able to send a royalty check with more to follow soon.

I am giving some thought to a possible re-issue of THE WORLD AND AFRICA. Do I have your permission to proceed to the drawing of a contract as soon as a decision has been reached?

With our best to you and Shirley,

Faithfully yours,

S A Russell

Cables: "Ruslibri, New York" *Telephone: GRamercy 5-4810*

S·A·R

RUSSELL & RUSSELL · INC.

PUBLISHERS

80 EAST 11TH STREET · NEW YORK 3

18 March 1958

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

If you will be good enough to sign and return one of these to this office, this will be completed.

Faithfully yours,

S. A. Russell

SAR:es

42/50/62

Marquis-Who's Who, Inc.

MARQUIS PUBLICATIONS BUILDING, 210 EAST OHIO STREET, CHICAGO—11 U S A
The A. N. Marquis Company • Publishers of WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA
Phone: SUperior 7-2008

42/5A/26

May 20, 1958

Miss Margaret G. Burroughs,
Chicago DuBois Committee,
Parkway Blue Room,
420 East 45th Street,
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Miss Burroughs:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 18th and for your invitation to join you at the dinner in honor of Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois. I only wish I had learned of this sooner, for it would have been a great pleasure to join you, as I have a high admiration for Dr. DuBois, and we were very pleased to have him at our Sixtieth Anniversary Celebration.

However, since the letter only arrived this morning, I am afraid it is too late to change an engagement I already have for tomorrow evening. Nonetheless, thank you very much for the invitation, and please pass on my respects to Dr. and Mrs. DuBois, and my regrets that I cannot join them.

Sincerely yours,

Wheeler Sammons, Jr.
Associate Publisher

WSJr.lc

July 25, 1958

Mr. Norman Cousins, Editor
Saturday Review of Literature
25 West 45th St.
New York City

Dear Mr. Cousins:

I am leaving on August 5th for my thirteenth trip abroad. My first trip was in 1892, when I went to study at the University of Berlin. Other trips have followed in 1900, 1906, 1911, 1919 1921, 1925, 1936, 1949 and 1950

In all these trips I have visited England and France, and in most of them Germany and Italy. I have been three times in the Soviet Union, twice in Poland and at other times in Czechoslovakia, Spain, Denmark and Sweden. I have also visited China, Japan and West Africa.

On this trip I plan again to visit England, France, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, perhaps Italy, some part of Asia and possibly West Africa. I have from time to time in the past summed up my observations and conclusions drawn from this travel in the Atlantic Monthly, Foreign Affairs and other periodicals.

I write to ask if you would be interested in having me prepare for the Saturday Review of Literature any of my conclusions from this travel. I am a Socialist, have great interest in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe and have spent most of my life studying the problems of Africa and its descendants, especially in America.

If you would be interested in this proposition I would be glad to hear from you at your convenience. My biography is in "Who's Who" and in "Who's Who in America".

Very sincerely yours,

42/57/3

Saturday Review
25 West 45th Street
New York 36. N. Y.

Norman Cousins
Editor

42/57A/38

July 25, 1958

Mr. W.E. Burghardt Du Bois
Shirley Graham
Thirty-one Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

This will acknowledge with thanks your letter concerning a possible article, which is being held for Mr. Cousins' attention. We will be happy to consider anything you write and decide to send us, but cannot commission in advance.

Sincerely,

Sallie Lou Parker

Sallie Lou Parker

SLP:mm
PS: Please send the article to Mr. Harrison Smith at the above address.

W. E. B. Du BOIS
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

March 12, 1938

Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Schutzer
42 Livingston street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear friends:

We tried that glorious bottle which you sent last night, and it proved a rare treat to your taste. Thank you very much for this remembrance.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

42-29-100

W. E. B. Du BOIS
51 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

March 12, 1958

42-54-23

Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Schutzer
42 Livingston street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear friends:

We tried that glorious bottle which you sent, last night, and it proved a rare tribute to your taste. Thank you very much for this remembrance.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

42-58-166

Hughes Dormitory, Rooom 224
Central State College
Wilberforce, Ohio
March 30, 1958

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklun, N.Y.

My Dear Dr. DuBois;

May I take this opportunity to express my great admiration for you and the true knowledge which you have amassed for the enlightenment of our poor blind, deaf and dumb people in America who has surely been robbed compbetely of all knowledge, wisdom and understanding of their kind and what their forefathers have contributed to the world. I have had the great pleasure of reading several of your books, "The World and Africa","Black Folk Then and Now" and one other which escapes my memory.

When ever I have the opportunity to give books reports or famous personalities I forthright discuss your books and you (smile). I am a sophomore here at Central State College in Wilberforce and I enjoy learning very much I want so badly to be of help in raising our people from ignorance into light, pride, respect and love for one another. I firmly believe that the only way a people can rise is that they must have a true picture of history and their part in making it. Sometimes Dr. DuBois I am accused of being to dogmatic and sometime narrow because I try to learn everything about the contributions of People of Color to the world and to correct the false outmoded beliefs,(smile) and I want you to know that nothing will deter me from pursuing my aims.

Dear Sir, I feel quite embarrassed at mentioning this but I feel if I express my wish to you, you might grant it or politely ignore it. Firstly Iyam from a low income bracket family, my dad is dead and mother an invalid, I have two sisters in high school and two brothers, and of course my mother receives aid. Durning the summer months I must work. I am in school on scholarship, my major is Sociology and minor Political Science and Music. My wish is to have any periodicals, books or magazines of which to start my own library on the(so-called word)Negro History. I want to be informed and to have books to inform others on our great contributions and show them proof. I was an honor student in my freshman year but my sophore year I received two C.s I am studing hard again so that I will return to the list of honor students. My cumulatice average I think is 3.2.

Thank you for your civility in my behalf.

Very truly yours,

Nawab Shah

June 30, 1958

48-54-48

Mr. Nawab Shah
Hughes Dormitory, Room 224
Wilberforce, Ohio

My dear Mr. Shah:

I am sending you herewith a book and some pamphlets which I hope will be of use.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:RR

Enc.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

May 6, 1958 - 11 A.M.

I walked over from Earl + Helen Robinson's, but found you were out.

Earl called you several weeks ago about me.

I am doing a study on Apportionment of Congressmen with emphasis on the Southern political problem.

I thought I would like to talk with you.

Do you have, or do you know where I can get a copy of Flack - The Adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment - also Part 4 - Congressional Globe - 39th ~~Session~~ Congress - 1st Session ??

P.S. Henry let me in to leave this note.

Victor Sharrow
Crompond, N.Y.
Lakeland 8-5819

between 6-7:30 p.m. any night you can call collect

4/2-5A-81

MAKE EVERY WEEK BROTHERHOOD WEEK

176

42-54-82

June 4, 1958

Mr. Victor Sharrow

Crompond, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Sharrow:

I was out of town, on the Pacific Coast, and in Chicago, and the South, most of May, so that I missed your visit.

I have a copy of Flack on the Adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. I think possibly you could find it in the second-hand book stores in New York or Philadelphia.

If you are in town later, perhaps we can have a talk.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:RR

SHAW UNIVERSITY

RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 20, 1958

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Chicago
Illinois

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Shaw University felicitates you on the occasion commemorating your ninetieth birthday. Your monumental work as author, lecturer, and statesman has been a source of hope and encouragement to oppressed peoples around the world, and for this we shall be ever grateful. Your name will always remain as the symbol of justice, equality, and fair play for all groups, regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

With best wishes for continued long life, health and happiness, I am

Sincerely yours,

William R. Strassner
President

WRS:rfl

97-298-90

UNCF UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

W. E. B. Du BOIS
81 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

March 12, 1958

Mr. and Mrs. Abbott Simon
175 West 93 street
New York City

42-511-197

Dear friends:

Shirley and I want to thank you for letting us see "My Fair Lady," and for the splendid birthday dinner. We enjoyed this thoughtfulness very much, and appreciated also your courage in venturing out again for the hotel jollification. I am still alive and fairly well.

Convey to Michael and Andrea our loving regard.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

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31 Parensor
Sofia C
Bulgaria, Europe

August 21, 1958

42-54-84

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A.

Dear Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois:
I am a literary translator and reviewer of American Negro Literature and I just plan to introduce some of your books to the Bulgarian reading public. But, much to my regret, they cannot be obtained here in this country. That is why I dared bother you just thinking that you might be so kind as to help me by sending some copies of your books which all critics claim as the most representative of American Negro Literature of present day.
Of course, I am not able to do any payment because of exchange difficulties, so

I am sounding a bit idealistic, am I not? But, in return, I could furnish you with some fine examples of Bulgarian folk applied art, or, if you are interested, with some monographs on Bulgarian arts in their English editions.

Thank you in advance for any inconvenience caused; I had no other chance (and oh, I love so much the American Negro Culture!) but you so I would be much grateful if you could render me such a kind of help.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely yours:
George Slavov

Address for printed matters:
Mr. Kristian Dyankov (g.s.)
BTA - Bulgarian News Agency
12 Narodno Sobranie Sq.
Sofia, Bulgaria,
Europe

January 6, 1958

His Excellency A. A. Sobolev
Permanent Representative of the U.S.S.R.
to the United Nations
680 Park avenue
New York City

42-54-19

My dear Ambassador:

In thanking you for your kind New Year's greetings, I beg to let you know that on Christmas Day my great-grandson was born weighing eight pounds. I know you will join me in my happiness.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

SOCIÉTÉ AFRICAINE DE CULTURE

PRESENCE AFRICAINE

PARIS le 6 avril 1958

Docteur W.E.B. DUBOIS
31 Grace Court

BROOKLYN
N.Y

42-11A-52

Cher Monsieur,

Nous espérons cette fois qu'il vous sera possible de venir au 2e Congrès Mondial des Intellectuels Noirs, et que de toute façon, nous obtiendrons de vous un rapport sur le thème particulier qui vous conviendrait, pourvu que vous teniez compte du thème général :

- Unité des peuples Noirs
- Responsabilités des Hommes de Culture Noirs

ou Unité et Responsabilités de la Culture Noire.

Veuillez avoir l'obligeance de nous confirmer votre accord et nous dire quel sujet vous aurez décidé de traiter. Le texte devrait nous parvenir si possible à la fin de juin.

Avec nos remerciements, je vous prie d'accepter l'expression de nos sentiments distingués.

Alioune DIOP

P. S - Il est bien entendu que vos honoraires vous seraient versés aussitôt que le texte nous sera parvenu.

SOCIÉTÉ AFRICAINE DE CULTURE

PRESENCE AFRICAINE

PARIS le 4 Août 1958

42-5A-180

C/1146/AD/1166

Monsieur W.E.B. DU BOIS
c/O Cedric Belfrage
16 Talbot Square
LONDON

Dear Mr.DU BOIS,

We thank you for your letter of July 27th. We are very happy to know of your presence in Europe and hope to have some papers from you and your wife, Shirley Graham.

We tell you again all our great admiration for you and wish you a pleasant stay in Europe.

Sincerely,

Alioune DIOP
Secrétary-General of the S.A.C.

African Culture

[Société Africaine de Culture]

2e Congrès des Ecrivains et Artistes Noirs

Rome - Septembre 1958

UNITE ET RESPONSABILITES DE LA CULTURE NEGRO-AFRICAINE

Notre premier congrès en 1956 avait pris pour thème central: la crise de la culture noire. Notre souci dominant était alors de situer les respon--sabilités et de dissiper les équivoques. C'est à tort, en effet, et sous l'influence des intérêts colonialistes, que les peuples d'Occident avaient accepté la notion de peuples sans culture. Ils ignoraient l'action consciente et méthodiquement conduite contre les cultures indigènes. L'impérialisme occi--dental avait beaucoup trop à dissimuler à la conscience de ses propres peuples pour tolérer que nos cultures fussent assez vivaces pour porter témoignage contre l'idéologie et l'ordre colonialistes.

Cette année, notre souci a un caractère moins critique et plus construc--tif. Nous avons diagnostiqué le mal, en 1956; en 1958, nous proposons une solution: la solidarité de nos peuples. Nous ne sommes du reste pas les seuls à vouloir nous unir.

Depuis une bonne décade, les pays d'Europe tentent de se regrouper. Leurs intérêts semblaient pourtant assez solidaires déjà. Péninsule avancée de l'Asie, l'Europe avait joué dans l'histoire un rôle dont toutes ses nations peuvent être fières. Foyer actif de la race blanche, elle a porté à travers le monde la présence d'oeuvres ruisselantes de prestige, d'efficacité, et d'au--dace. Elle a régné sur la nature et sur les autres peuples dans un style qui ne veut tolérer ni contestation ni équivoque.

Sa culture avait converti et érigé (à tort ou à raison) nombre de ses caractéristiques en valeurs universelles. Dans une certaine perspective, la culture occidentale est la culture du monde de 1958. Pourquoi alors l'Europe parle-t-elle aujourd'hui de se regrouper ?

C'est précisément que l'universalité de cette culture commence d'être contestée. A la fois par les deux géants et par les peuples d'outre-mer. C'est aussi que cette culture, dans un monde qui croît, a besoin de s'appuyer sur des données sociologiques nouvelles. L'équilibre des forces (politico-militaires) traditionnelles ne suffit plus à en soutenir l'unité ni l'autorité. Aussi lorsque l'Europe songe aujourd'hui à s'unifier, c'est sans doute pour sauve--garder le prestige de sa vocation mais c'est pour préserver d'abord ses der--nières chances de rester puissance respectée parmi les nouvelles puissances.

Car de nouvelles puissances disputent à l'Europe la direction du monde. Les U.S.A. d'abord dont l'Europe n'est plus qu'une vassale économique (c'est en partie pour se soustraire à cette colonisation économique que l'Eu--rope se ressaisit) - l'U.R.S.S. ensuite pour qui les nations Européennes sont un magnifique champ d'expérience et d'expansion pour une civilisation

nouvelle. Les peuples de Bandoeng enfin (l'Asie, le monde arabe, l'Afrique) pour qui la période actuelle est une exaltante étape de leur conscience politique (donc culturelle). Cette conscience politique, son éclosion et sa croissance ne concernent pas seulement les peuples de Bandoeng mais la structure même du monde entier. Mutatis mutandis, l'on peut considérer qu'ils sont les prolétaires du monde actuel, et reconnaître leur conscience une inspiration et une vocation universalisantes incontestables. Ils ont mission de créer les nouvelles lois de la culture à partir de problèmes, situations, expériences et aspirations que l'Europe n'a peut-être pas éprouvées, et au nom d'une majorité dont la vocation pèse davantage que le prestige de l'Occident sur la marche de l'Histoire.

Ces forces naissantes cependant exigent rencontres, organisations, prises de conscience, prises de position et définitions nouvelles.

Après Bandoeng et Le Caire, le monde arabe cherche douloureusement à fonder son unité. Le monde Noir n'a-t-il pas assez de traits originaux et d'intérêts propres à son histoire et à sa civilisation pour vouloir aussi poser et penser le problème de son unité ?

Unité culturelle, bien entendu. Nous sommes éparpillés à travers le monde, tels que le colonialisme, l'esclavage et le racisme occidentaux ont dû nous répartir. Nous vivons sous des régimes politico-économiques variés et nous nous réclamons de nationalités distinctes. Nous sommes insérés dans des cultures (arabe, portugaise, française, anglaise, etc) très diverses entre elles et différentes des cultures traditionnelles de l'Afrique Noire.

Néanmoins nous avons assez de traits communs dans nos aspirations, nos situations et dans nos souvenirs pour que se justifie la revendication d'une unité de la culture noire.

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Des études paléontologiques, préhistoriques et linguistiques pourraient dégager de notre passé les premiers fondements d'une unité de notre univers africain.

L'époque coloniale (qui est loin d'être achevée) pourrait fournir les éléments les plus décisifs d'une conscience de notre originalité commune.

Cependant, ce sont peut-être les conditions de la vie moderne et à venir, qui nous dicteront le plus impérieusement le devoir de susciter une conscience commune dont les horizons dans le passé et les lois communes dans le présent aideront à dégager les perspectives et les chances de notre avenir de solidarité.

Nous avons justement, chacun dans sa spécialité, la responsabilité de faire de notre discipline ou de notre art une <u>puissance de solidarité</u> au service de nos peuples, afin de pouvoir en faire ensuite une <u>puissance d'universalité</u>.

C'est ce que nous examinerons au cours du 2e congrès mondial des Ecrivains et Artistes Noirs qui se tiendra à Rome dans la 2e quinzaine de septembre 1958.

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Le programme que nous proposons comprend deux parties:

I - Les fondements et les chances de l'unité de notre culture (ou de notre solidarité culturelle).

II - Les tâches et responsabilités de chaque discipline ou art.

La 1ère partie pourrait faire l'objet de trois grands rapports(passé, présent, et avenir) confiés à trois spécialistes ou groupes de spécialistes.

La 2e partie comprendrait toute une série d'études sur les tâches et responsabilités actuelles de: l'historien, du linguiste, du théologien, du savant, du poète, etc..(toujours en fonction de notre souci de solidarité).

On prévoit enfin un dernier rapport qui, à partir des précédents, s'efforcerait de dégager les grandes lignes de notre politique de la culture.

Tel est en gros le plan général proposé à nos travaux.

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Nous attendons de nos correspondants deux choses:

1° Leurs réflexions et critiques sur ce plan.

2° Des noms de personnes considérées comme particulièrement compétentes pour traiter chacun des sujets ci-dessus énumérés.

Nous rappelons que les rapports doivent (une fois les sujets distribués) nous parvenir à fin juin, afin de pouvoir être imprimés et redistribués aux congressistes avant le 15 août.

SOCIETE AFRICAINE DE CULTURE (Présence Africaine),17 rue de Chaligny,Paris XII

2ème CONGRES DES ECRIVAINS ET ARTISTES NOIRS

Projet de plan :

Unité et Responsabilités de la Culture Négro-Africaine.

A - UNITE

1) Fondements tirés du passé

(Données paléontologiques, préhistoriques, historiques, culturelles, spirituelles, etc...)

2) Fondements tirés de l'époque coloniale

(Unité dans la diversité des formes de colonisation : esclavage, racisme, colonialisme)

3) Fondements tirés des impératifs de la vie moderne

(L'ère des grands ensembles : Europe, Groupe Atlantique, Groupe de l'Est, Groupe Afro-Asiatique)

Impératifs modernes de notre regroupement : facteurs techniques, économiques et politico-culturels.

Conclusion : 4) Eléments constructifs d'une civilisation négro-africaine

B - RESPONSABILITES (de chaque discipline : littérature et arts, sciences humaines et exactes, techniques, etc..)

C - NOTRE POLITIQUE DE LA CULTURE

1) Fonctions culturelles des leaders politiques, syndicaux et des mouvements de jeunesse

2) Diffusion de la culture

3) Pour un véritable universalisme culturel

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Presence Africaine

THE Second Congress of Negro Writers and Artists

Rome September 1958

THE UNITY AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF NEGRO-AFRICAN CULTURE

42/IA/12

Our first Congress in 1956 had for its central theme: The Crisis of Negro Culture. Our principal concern at that time was to point out the causes responsible for that crisis and to dissipate ambiguous conceptions. It was under the influence of colonialism and in its interests that Western nations wrongfully accepted the idea that there can be a nation without a culture of its own. They were unaware of the conscious and syste--matic action exerted against indigenous cultures. Colonial governments, having far too much to camouflage before their own peoples' eyes, could not allow our cultures to bear witness against the colonial system and its ideo--logy.

This year, our preoccupation is less critical and more constructive in character. In 1956, we diagnosed the disease; in 1958, we propose a remedy: That our peoples should work and strive in concert. In fact, we are not the only peoples aspiring after Unity.

For some ten years now, European Nations, have been trying to regroup themselves. Their interests however seemed unified already. Being the foremost peninsular of Asia, Europe has played in history a role of which all her nations can be proud. As the active rearing ground of the white race, she has given rise all over the world to the presence of achievements that are bold, impressive, and effective. She has dominated nature and peoples in a fashion that means to be glaring and incontestable.

Her culture, rightly or wrongly, has set up a great number of her own characteristics and has made them pose for universal values. Viewed from a certain perspective, Western culture is the culture of the World of 1958. Why then does Europe to-day speak of regrouping itself ?

It is precisely because the universality of this culture has now begun to be questioned. First, by the two giant nations, next by the peoples Over--seas. It is also because this culture, in a growing world, needs to be sup--ported by new sociological data. The balance of political, military, tradi--tional forces is no longer sufficient to sustain its unity and authority. And thus, when Europe thinks to-day of unification, it is without doubt, to safeguard her prestige and vocation, but, above all, it is to secure her last chances of remaining the leading and controlling power among the rising nations.

For the new powers are co testing with Europe for world leadership.

First, the U.S.A., of which Europe is but the economic vassal.(In fact it is to free herself from this economic imperialism that Europe is striving).

.....

Then there is the Soviet Union for which the European nations are an excellent field for the experimenting and the expansion of their new civi-
-lization.

At last, the Bandung powers (Asia, the Arab World , and Africa), for which the present period is an stearing stage in their political and cultural reawakening.

The birth and growth of this political and cultural consciousness does not concern only the Bandung powers, but the very structure of the whole world. Mutatis mutandis, they can be considered as the proletariate of the modern world and one can discern in thisresurgence an inspiration and a voca-
-tion of universalizing action. Having for their starting point, problems, situations and aspirations, that urope has perhaps never had to experience, they have a mission to make known their cultural personalty, and also to create, thereby, new dimensions and new laws for human cultural life. And this in the name of a majority of the human race whose hunger and misery weigh far more than the prestige of the West on the march of History.

For this it is imperative that they should establish their own solida-
-fity.

Here, of course, we are dealing with cultural unity and solidarity. We are scattered over the face of the earth, as imperialism, slavery and the racial policy of the Western Nations have flung us. We live under different political and economic regimes and we belong to different nations. We find ourselves in Arab, Portuguese, French, English, etc... cultures which differ considerably from one another and from our traditional Negro culture.

Yet, we have common features in our aspirations, in our condition, in our knowledge of the past, features numerous enough to vindicate the Unity of the Negro Culture.

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Palaeontological, prehistoric, and linguistic research could bring to light, from our past, the first foundations of the unity of our African World.

The colonial era (which is far from over) could furnish decisive elements of our cultural solidarity.

Nevertheless, it is perhaps the conditions of modern life and of the future which shall, imperiously, consolidate the unity of our cultural consciousness.

.....

Every one of us therefore has the responsibility to make his special field a driving force in our struggle for the unity of our peoples, in order to make that solidarity later on, a universalizing force.

It is thisthat we intend to examine during the second world Congress of Negro Authors and Artists which shall be held in Rome in the latter part of September 1958.

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The agenda that we propose comprises two parts.

I - The foundations of our culture and its chances of achieving unity and solidarity.

II - The tasks and the responsibilities of each discipline or art.

The first part could be made the object of three studies (on the past, the present and the future of our culture) confided to three specialists or groups of specialists.

The second part should comprise a series of studies on the present tasks and responsibilities of the historian, the linguist, the theologian, the sci scientist, the poet, etc...(bearing always in mind our preoccupation with solidarity).

At the end, a final exposition or motion which, from what precedes, should aim at bringing out the main points in our cultural policy, is envi--saged.

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We expect two things from the addressees of this appeal.

1) Their criticisms and reflexions on this plan.

2) The names of persons who they consider particularly competent to treat each of the subjects listed above.

Let us call your attention to the fact that the studies (as soon as those appointed to undertake them are named) should reach us by the end of June, so that they can be printed and redistributed to our Congressists be--fore the 15th of August.

SOCIETE AFRICAINE DE CULTURE (Présence Africaine)
17 rue de Chaligny, Paris XII

12/IA/B

Japan

SOHYO NEWS

Nihon Rodo Kumiai Sohyogikai
(General Council of Trade Unions of Japan)
Sohyo kaikan, Shiba Park,
Tokyo, Japan.
General Secretary: Akira Iwai

Published by the International Affairs Dept
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MAY DAY MESSAGE

On behalf of 3.5 million workers uniting with the General Council, The General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO) extends its hearty fraternal greetings to your organization and to all brothers and sisters in your country on the occasion of May Day in 1958.

Irrespective of differences in ideology, belief, and trade union affiliation, all the workers of Japan are now ready to celebrate the 29th May Day.

This day must be a day of great advance of Japanese workers for unity and emancipation under the banner of unity of all workers in the world and of international solidarity of workers.

Especially in Japan, the policy to shift the difficulties caused by economic recession on workers has inflamed anger among the workers, and the demands of the Japanese people for a ban on atomic and hydrogen bombs are now more fervent than they have ever been. Further, the general election is expected in the near future with the dissolution of the Diet just around the corner.

Five million workers meeting at six hundred places in our country this day declare the world with solid determination that the Japanese workers are unanimously demanding better working conditions centering around the establishment of a minimum wage system, an immediate ratification of the ILO Conventions, an overthrow of the reactionary Kishi Cabinet and an immediate unconditional ban on nuclear weapons.

Together with Asian and Arabian workers, we will proceed our struggle in close cooperation with all workers, no matter whether they are affiliated to the WFTU or to the ICFTU.

We pledge this day to unite our forces against any oppression and do our utmost tiding over our difficulties for the emancipation of workers based on freedom, democracy and peace.

We hope that the fraternal relations between the workers and trade unions of all countries will be further strengthened.

Long live 1958 May Day !

Long live the solidarity of the workers of the world !

The General Council of Trade Unions
of Japan (SOHYO)

42/5a/89

MASSAGES AND APPEALS AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Concerning the declaration of the Soviet Government on suspension of nuclear tests, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO) sent a message to the All-Soviet Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) and appeals requiring the co-operation of the AFL-CIO of the United States, the TUC of the United Kingdom and the DGB of Germany. The following appeals were also sent to Mr. D.D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, and Mr. H. Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

A P P E A L

4 April 1958

Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower,
The President,
The White House,
Washington 25, D.C.

and

Mr. Harold Macmillan,
The Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street, London

Sir,

The immediate cessation of nuclear tests and the entire prohibition of nuclear weapons have been pathetic demands of the Japanese people who suffered most from Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and they have appealed to the world for realisation of their demands. Recently the Government of the Soviet Union declared the cessation of nuclear tests at first. Whatever the political aims of the declaration may be, it was ardently welcomed by the Japanese people, for it met their demands.

The General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO), on behalf of 3.5 million Japanese workers, heartily wishes that the Governments of the United States and the British Commonwealth will also declare the cessation of nuclear tests.

We are confident that such cessation of nuclear tests will be a momentous step toward the entire prohibition of nuclear weapons, the general reduction of armaments and finally the establishment of lasting peace of the world. The movement against nuclear weapons for these purposes, is now developing all over the world.

We hope that your Government will clearly understand such trends of the world and take immediate measures favorable for the world opinion.

Very respectfully yours,

Yukitaka Haraguchi
President

APRIL 17, DAY OF UNITED ACTIONS

42/59/100

According to the decision made at the fourth Joint Tactics Committee meeting held on April 2, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO) studied the present situation and measures to be taken for the future development of the fights for the establishment of a minimum wage system, promotion of the ratification of ILO Conventions Concerning the Right to Organize and against Government enforcement of efficiency rating system upon teachers. It was decided then to wage the second wave of united actions to further the results obtained at the time of the first united actions held on April 2.

Affiliated industrial unions and the local and regional trade union councils are expected to deliver the decision to lower-level organizations so that most powerful actions may be carried out in unity of various trade unions.

* * *

Date: April 17

Aim: To fight for the establishment of a minimum wage system according to Socialist Party's plan; to push the Government to ratify ILO Convention No. 87 Concerning the Right to Organize; and to oppose the enforcement of efficiency rating system upon teachers.

Details of the Projected Actions:
a. Affiliated industrial unions are expected to wage workshop rallies during the rest hours in the minimum.
b. Regional Joint Struggle Councils shall carry out actions that suit the circumstances of respective regions.

* * *

1. The Socialist Party has presented to the current Diet a Socialist Party's minimum wage bill for discussion. The Party clarifies its stand to make a showdown battle against the Government which is persistently trying to have its draft bill successfully passed by the Diet. The Japan Trade Union Congress (JTUC) is also trying its best to have its own plan with some revisions passed by the Diet. It is extremely important to check the passing of the Government bill as it is against the interests of the workers.

2. Special Deliberation Committee on ILO Conventions of the Diet has requested to submit a resolution on the ratification of ILO Conventions. It is vitally important to press the Government and the Liberal-Democratic Party to step up deliberations on the resolution.

3. The Education Ministry intends to implement efficiency rating system as from April. Pressed by the Liberal-Democratic Party, the

Education Ministry has intensified its attitude more and more as the Diet dissolution is expected in the near future.

The Japan Teachers' Union (NIKKYOSO) decided to stage the fifth nationwide action at the meeting of the representatives held on April 5.

The All Procurement Agency Workers' Union (ZENCHOTATSU) came to an agreement with the authorities concerned regarding its wage dispute condition that "a grievance committee would be set up in regard to the question of disciplinary measures taken against union leaders", while the All Agriculture and Forestry Ministry's Workers' Union (ZENNORIN) won some wage upping. (Chief Cabinet Secretary stated that the Government would be ready to increase their pay to some extent as "it is useless to give them blank sheet of paper.") It is expected that the struggles of the All Tax Agency Workers' Union (ZENKOKUZEI) would undergo many difficulties in future.

THE 9TH EXPANDED DIRECTORS' MEETING HELD

----- Workers Be Ready for Protracted Actions -----

The 9th expanded directors' meeting was held on April 16 at the headquarters office, attended by Vice-Presidents, Ohta and Fujioka, General Secretary Iwai and standing directors of the General Council, 50 directors and 31 representatives of the regional trade union councils.

Iwai reported on the procedures of the previous directors' meeting, which was followed by the request by the representative of Ishikawa Prefectural Trade Union Council who appealed for a support of the General Council toward the struggle against the dismissal by the workers of Marudai Textile Workers' Union. Women worker of the Union appealed the participants various difficulties confronting the Union. Encouragement was extended to the fighters.

The representative of the National Federation of Paper Pulp Industry Workers' Unions (KAMI PULP ROREN) reported about the activities of the National Federation of Textile Workers' Unions (ZENSENDOMEI), affiliated with the Japan Trade Union Congress (ZENRO), which acted at the time of strike of Kokoku Jinken Co. as strike breaker in collusion with the company.

The discussions which followed are summarized below:

1. On the Establishment of a Special Setup to Support Prolonged Struggles:

It was proposed by General Secretary Iwai that the General Council would set up a special temporary organ toward the end of May to support in goods and service the struggles of the General Federation of Private Railway Workers' Unions (SHITETSU SOREN), the Japan Coal Mine Workers' Union (TANRO), the Japan Federation of Synthetic Chemistry Workers' Unions

(GOKARAREN) and the All-Japan Federation of Metal Miners' Unions (ZENKO), whose struggles might probably last for a long period of time.

The seventh (April 20 - 23) and the eighth(at the beginning of May) united nationwide struggles will be staged for the purpose of establishing a minimum wage system, against efficiency rating system, mass dismissal, unreasonable punishments given to trade union leaders and activists, and for defense of trade union rights. Questions were raised by the delegates of Iwate, Ehime and Osaka district trade union councils and the proposal was finally approved by the meeting.

The meeting discussed also on (1) activities for the success of democratic camp at the time of the forthcoming general election for the House of Representatives; (2) exchange of trade union delegates of Asian and African countries in preparation for the Asian and African Trade Union Congress; (3) actions against labor contract bill presented to the Diet; (4)extention of SOHYO headquarters building; and (5) support for the struggles of Kokoku Jinken and Hokuetsu Pulp Unions against mass dismissal.

42/58/101

ARBITRATION AWARD PRESENTED TO THE COUNCIL OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISE WORKERS' UNIONS

----- The Fifth Wave of Action Suspended -----

Arbitration Award on wage dispute of the Council of Public Enterprise Workers' Unions (KOROKYO) was presented by the Arbitration Committee of the Public Enterprise Labor Relations Committee on the evening of April 3.

Concerning the wages paid after April 1958, the Arbitration Award proposes that initial wage will be increased with the amount equal to one per cent of the standard wages as of January 1958 set as a basic fund, and the wage system will be improved accordingly. ¥ 190 per head in average will be set as an amount of increase for the workers of three Public Corporations and five Government field offices.

Details of the Arbitration Award:

1. As for the wages after April 1958, initial wage will be increased with the amount equal to one per cent of the standard wages as of January 1958 set as a basic fund, and the wage system will be improved accordingly.

2. Distribution of the abovementioned basic fund will be decided according to an agreement between the labor and the management in line with the aim of Item 1.

3. Further study on measures to eliminate unequality existing in the current wage system should be made by both the labor and the management.

4. As for area allowance, the labor and the management will examine

measures in order to improve it and establish a system which meets different circumstances.

Reasons:

Trade unions have raised a demand for an increase of payment which exceeds the amount increased last year. However, we find no decisive elements in the present situation that justify the demand by trade unions. We admit, however, that a differential exists in the initial wages between workers employed at the Public Corporations and the Government field offices, and further between them and the civil industry unions. From this standpoint, it was considered necessary to iron out existing differences with the amount equal to one per cent of the wages set as a fundamental fund. The amount of increase in initial wage shall be determined through discussions between the labor and the management.

The Council of Public Enterprise Workers' Unions (KOROKYO) decided to call off the fifth "use of force" action which had been scheduled on April 5. The Council issued the following statement:

"The proposed Arbitration Award is far from meeting the demand of unions ..... We demand that the Government and the Public Corporations will carry out the Arbitration Award to the full, as the arbitration was filed for the first time by the Government through the application for the authority of arbitration.

"We demand the improvement of the Arbitration Award, and will further continue our activities for our aims through collective bargainings on workshop levels and through actions for general election and summer allowances.

"The fifth wave of actions slated on April 5 shall be cancelled due to the presentation of the Arbitration Award."

TEACHERS RESORT TO NATIONWIDE ACTION ON APRIL 22

The Japan Teachers' Union (NIKKYOSO) decided to organize a powerful struggle on the fourth week of April in order to prevent the Government from introducing efficiency rating system for teachers. It sent out its directive to the lower organizations according to a decision reached at the meeting of April 5. A united action is expected on April 22.

Directive: (Summary)

1. Actions by lower organizations are expected to reach a climax at around the fourth week of April (April 21 -26). Each branch is requested to work out a schedule so that mighty actions will center around this period.

2. Each prefectural branch is requested to decide on the tactics, and report about them to the chairman of the Japan Teachers' Union (NIKKYOSO), and prefectural teachers' unions.

3. Each branch will be ready for united actions slated on April 22 on nationwide scale.

a. Prefectural branch is to organize the most powerful action that can be developed in respective prefectures.

b. Rallies on city levels shall be waged, in which all trade union members, as a principle, shall participate.

c. It is vitally important to connect struggles against efficiency rating system with the fights against introduction of moral education into curriculum and for a ban on nuclear weapons. It is also important, in doing so, to request for a support of vast strata of people including scholars, men of intellect and culture, and arouse public opinions against the reactionarity of the Government measures.

Affiliated unions are requested to intensify ties with the organized workers of other industries with May Day celebration just around the corner.

Further, the Japan High School Teachers' Union (NIKKOKYO) sent the directive for the similar purposes to the lower organizations, for the purpose of fighting hand in hand with the Japan Teachers' Union (NIKKYOSO).

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TACTICS MEETING OF THE PRIVATE RAILWAYMEN DECIDED ON VITAL STRUGGLES

----- Tactics Committee Held on March 31 -----

The Council of Private Railway Employers' Associations is adamant in its refusal to solve the dispute, clinging to the conciliation plan. The Government and the Federation of Economic Organizations have continued to urge private railway companies, stating that neither trasportation fare raise be granted nor loans are raised for companies which make concessions and increase wages more than the amount set in the conciliation plan.

In the face of these measures, the fourth Tactics Committee meeting of the General Federation of Private Railway Workers' Unions (SHITETSU SOREN) decided on the future activities as follows:

1. To suspend a 24 hour strike scheduled on April 3. It falls on a week day and it is not wise to walk out on week days. The union decided on the above measure taking the convenience of passengers into consideration.

2. The General Federation of Private Railway Workers' Unions

(SHITETSU SOREN) will resort to strike actions up to the 5th of April as scheduled. It means that the ticket punchers of 70 per cent of private railway stations owned by big enterprises and 30 per cent of the smaller private railway unions will walk out on the 5th of April. A 24 hour strike will also be conducted on April 6 by the unions whose demands have not yet been met. However, workers of 5 unions in Tokyo shall not join in 70% walk-out tactic up to April 5. They shall take actions that suit with their respective conditions.

3. Struggles for indefinite period of time shall be carried out as scheduled after April 7. However, even in this case, each union will decide tactics independently according to the situation.

4. Workers shall come out on strike from the initial train till ten in the evening on April 13.

5. Over-all 48 hour strike shall be conducted on April 20 and 21.

6. In case no agreement is reached in favor of trade unions, central executive committee shall be responsible for deciding further steps.

7. Medium and small-sized unions which have not reached to favorable agreement are requested to continue their fights until around April 13. The period between April 6 and 13 is set as a peak of their struggles.

Eleven larger enterprise unions shall continue their negotiations between the management. The central executive committee will be responsible for working out tactics in the development of situation.

* * *

The General Federation of Private Railway Workers' Unions (SHITETSU SOREN) had earlier decided to call off over-all 24 hour strike slated on April 6, At the Tactics Committee meeting held on April 9, it was agreed among the members of central committee, the representatives of regional trade union federations and the member unions that "use of force" actions are strongly demanded in order to break down the barrier put up by the management.

1. Central executive committee will be responsible for the legislative, executive and judicial powers in regard to the struggles as a whole. However, each union will conduct negotiation independently hereafter. Big enterprise unions in Tokyo shall request for negotiation on April 12, while these in Osaka and Nishitetsu Union will do so on April 10.

2. In case no favorable result has been achieved by big enterprise unions by means of negotiations, they shall take the following steps:

a. Unions shall resort to powerful actions which suit the situation or the conditions of respective unions, from April 13 to 19. Tactics shall be decided by the regional private railway trade union federations. They should be reported and approved by the General Federation.

b. In case the wage dispute has not been successfully solved, private railway unions will enter another overall 24 hour strike on April 20.

c. The General Federation of Private Railway Workers' Unions (SHITETSU SOREN) shall decide on the tactics to be taken after April 21, taking into consideration the development and changes in the situation.

3. In case their demands are not met, Medium and small-sized unions shall continue their fights in accordance with the measures to be taken by larger unions.

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GOKAROREN DEMANDS LARGE INCREASE IN PAY

The struggle schedule of the Japan Federation of Synthetic Chemistry Workers' Unions (GOKAROREN) which joined with the Japan Federation of Private Railway Workers' Unions (SHITETSU SOREN) and the Japan Coal Mine Workers' Union (TANRO) on March 27 through waging its first wave of strike action, conducted the second wave on April 1, the third wave on the 5th. A total of 16 unions carried out strike actions, and several more are preparing for the similar action. Some 700,000 workers of 29 unions joined the first wave, 60,000 workers of 24 unions participated in the second wave of action. Toyo Koatsu Union, and Sumitomo Kagaku Union started powerful actions including indefinite partial strike since April 1, and other unions since April 5. In the course of showdown battles with the chemistry industry capitalists backed by the Japan Federation of Economic Organizations, ten small and medium enterprise unions have finally succeeded in winning an increase amounting to ¥1,500. Almost 30 unions have won more than ¥ 1,000 upping. The unions which won over ¥ 1,500 are: Nihon Sheet Glass (¥2,450), Fuji Film (¥2,135), Nichiban Yakko (¥1,700), Ube Soda (¥1,656), Yamanouchi Seiyaku (¥1,635), Toyo Soda (¥1,680), Nihon Orugano (¥1,540), Miike Senryo (¥1,525), and Kanto Denka (¥1,520).

However, it should be noted that the employers of such unions as Sumitomo Kagaku and Toyo Koatsu which are the central force of the Japan Federation of Synthetic Chemistry Workers' Unions (GOKAROREN) are exceptionally adamant in their refusal to increase the wages. They are closely and powerfully backed up by the Japan Federation of Economic Organizations and Ryuan Association. Inspite of the enormous loss caused by the strike actions, (for instance, the loss caused by production cut in Sumitomo Kagaku and Toyo Koatsu amounted to ¥280 million), the employers have shown no sign of concession but continued to say that they would not increase any "however persistently the unions may fight". In case of Sumitomo Kagaku, only ¥1,272 was raised which includethe amount to be raised as a regular wage increase, and ¥1,190 in case of Toyo Koatsu Union.

Under these circumstances, the Japan Federation of Synthetic Chemistry Workers' Unions (GOKAROREN) is determined to fight on until the unions could win better results than what they gained last year. Directive has been sent out requesting for further intensification of struggle setup.

MANAGEMENT REJECTED METAL MINERS' DEMANDS

The Federation of 5 Big Metal Mine Industry Unions including Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Mitsui, Dowa and Furukawa entered indefinite key point strike on April 4; Ishiwara Roren on April 5; and Nittetsu, Chugai and Dainihon on April 10. However, the employers flatly rejected the just demands of the unions. Big enterprise unions have intensified their actions to urge their wages. The result was such as follows: ¥ 437 for Ishiwara Roren (April 11); ¥ 400 wage upping plus ¥ 1,500 as a temporary allowance for Mitsui, ¥ 350 for Dowa and ¥ 533 for Ishiwara (all replied on the 16th).

It was decided at the Struggle Committee meeting that the action by Mitsui Union will be called off, and other unions shall continue their actions.

2. It was decided at the Struggle Committee meeting on the 10th to file an arbitration to the Central Labor Relations Committee, but this decision was cancelled. Unions will continue to collectively bargain with the management after the 16th.

Jafan

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STRUGGLE OF JAPANESE WORKERS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GUARANTEED MINIMUM WAGE SYSTEM

~ LOW WAGES OF JAPANESE WORKERS ~

General Council of

Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO)

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STRUGGLE OF JAPANESE WORKERS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GUARANTEED MINIMUM WAGE SYSTEM

- LOW WAGES OF JAPANESE WORKERS -

I. GUARANTEED MINIMUM WAGE SYSTEM - THE COMMON TARGET OF JAPANESE WORKERS -

1) Status of Japanese Workers:

4,000,000 workers affiliated with SOHYO are conducting a struggle, at present, demanding 2,000 to 3,000 yen wage up. The united common target of these workers is to establish the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System. In order to develop a united actions with other national organisations such as the ZENRO, Congress of All-Japan Trade Unions and the SHINSANBETSU, National Federation of Industrial Unions, SOHYO has decided to put up a demand for 6,000 yen as a minimum for the time being, intending to further raise it to the original target of 8,000 yen as minimum wage.

Demand for the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System by Japanese workers has a history of about 40 years, having gone through many ups and downs of the labour movement in past years.

However, despite the years of persistent struggles, the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System has not yet been established here, for the very reason that the growth of capitalism, its expansion of aggressive nature, has been based mainly upon the low wage system and worse working conditions peculiar to this country.

Generally speaking, wage of Japanese workers occupies only one-tenth of that of the workers of the workers of the USA. According to the statistic issued by the Statistic Bureau of Prime Minister's Chamber, the average wage of 17,000,000 employees is 12,900 yen; with 1,210,000 employees paid less than 4,000 yen; 2,250,000 paid between 4,000 and 6,000 yen and less; and 2,700,000 are paid under 6,000 to 8,000 yen.

Employees and workers paid less than 8,000 yen per month number 6,160,000, accounting for 36% of the total labour population. Thus approximately 67% of working women and 22% of men are kept down to a ridiculously low wage level. It should be noted here that this figure includes overtime pay, and bonuses of various nature.

The distribution of employees who are paid not exceeding 8,000 yen is as follows:

2,370,000 in manufacturing industry;
1,190,000 in services;
930,000 in wholesale and retail;
580,000 in construction;
280,000 in agriculture and forestry.

The percentage of those paid lower than 8,000 yen against the total number of workers is around 40%, excepting that of agriculture and forestry which indicates 68%.

Casual Survey on Labour Force

Source: Statistic Bureau, Prime Minister's Chamber

One million as a unit

Groups according to Income	March '55 Actual No.	%	March '54 Actual No.	%
Total	1503	/	1459	/
(Unknown)	30	/	25	/
Total discluding those unknown	1473	100.0%	1433	100.0%
Not exceeding 4,000 yen	104	7.1	90	6.3
Not exceeding 4,000 - 8,000 yen	423	28.7	406	28.3
8,000 - 12,000	316	21.5	320	22.3
12,000 - 16,000	277	18.8	256	17.9
16,000 - 20,000	115	7.8	128	8.9
20,000 - 24,000	107	7.3	101	7.0
24,000 - 28,000	50	3.4	50	3.5
28,000 - 32,000	34	2.3	32	2.2
32,000 and over	48	3.3	52	3.6
Average Income 120	12,700 yen	/	12,000 yen	/

The official survey made by the Ministry of Labour, in September 1952, shows that 330,000 families, 22% of the total number of families, are engaged in petty family-type small industries at home, in which wives and other members of the families usually work as important labour source, and that these members of families get paid far worse than the employees in bad conditions as mentioned above. 410,000 workers involving 60,000 men and 350,000 women are engaged in this type of domestic industries.

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From standpoint of prevention of unfair competition, special consideration should be paid in regard to the status of these workers.

The number of the families under Livelihood Protection Law went up to 660,000 families involving 1,930,000 people, in 1955, which accounted for one-thirtieth of the total families, while the families, whose living standard was, though not protected under Livelihood Protection Law, as worse as that of the families under the Law, reached to 1,920,000 families involving 9,720,000 people. Majority of these people have to seek jobs as day-workers, peasants, street-sellers, peddlars or engage in various petty domestic industries.

2) Worsened Living Conditions of Workers:

As mentioned above, the number of the workers whose pays are kept lower than 8,000 yen has reached to 4,960,000, accounting for 34.6% of the total labour population. Most of the workers, therefore, have to suffer from deficits in family expenditure, amounting to 5,279 yen in average. They find it hard to get along even by making shift through home works, debts, or postponement of payment through installment system.

It is perfectly obvious that these measures can not help them lead any decent lives. For instance, Engel's Coefficient of these families indicates 57.5%, and that of the families who get 12,000 yen in average shows 55.5%. On the contrary, in case of the family expenditure of foremen whose wages are 80,000 yen and over, the Coefficient indicates only 30%. That is to say, they have black-ink figures amounting to 28,192 yen. The important point is that these families occupy only 2.3% of the total wage earners' families.

The wage system in this country is characterized by an existence of wide differences among individual workers. The wage of the foremen is almost ten times as high as that of the majority of workers who are paid around 12,700 yen in average.

Status of Family Expenditure according to Wage Groups

	Day workers	4,000-7,999	8,000-11,999	80,000 & over
Family Members	3.15	3.77	3.63	5.29
Total Family Income	11,832	6,181	10,067	103,346
Income of a head of a household	8,805	4,932	8,062	93,110
Income of other Family members	2,290	681	849	10,372
Income thro home-work		212	370	/
Others	737	406	786	4,864

	Day workers	4,000-7,999	8,000-11,999	80,000 & over
Total Family Expenditure:	11,799	11,460	12,311	80,154
Exp. on consumption	11,501	11,307	11,987	52,872
Food	5,961	6,500	6,650	15,883
Meat, Milk, Eggs	/	533	734	3,119
Housing	885	750	943	2,091
Fuel and Light	607	514	686	1,767
Clothing	581	721	1,039	8,997
Miscellaneous	4,114	2,782	2,669	24,134
(Education, Culture)	447	414	466	5,162
Non-Consumption (Tax, etc)	298	153	324	27,282
Percentage of Income against Expenditure	+33	-5,279	-2,244	+28,192
Earned Income against Expenditure	-704	-5,847	-3,400	+23,328
Engel's Coefficient	51.8%	57.5%	55.5%	30.0%

Not only that, the capitalists are under the

boom unprecedented in Japanese history, accumulating scandalous profits.

Let us have a look at the production index of mining and manufacturing industry. 20% increase against the index of the previous year, and over 227% increase in November 1956 as compared with that of the prewar days!

According to a survey made by Nikko Shoken, a big security firm, proceeds of 317 firms have come up to 2,330 billion yen, producing 9,400 million yen as profit.

Declared profit for the past five years, even, has reached to a surprising figure of 955,600 million yen. A grip of people who are previledged enough to be shared with the capitalists' profits are high ranked wage-earners who earn 80,000 yen per month.

Bonus paid to Directors September 1956

Names of Co.	No. of Managers	Bonus	Perhead
Toyo Rayon Co.	15	10 million yen	0.67 million yen
Mitsubishi Rayon	13	6 "	0.46 "
Yawata Seitetsu (Steel)	20	7 "	0.35 "
Sumitomo Kinzoku (Metal)	13	7 "	0.54 "
Mitsubishi Kinzoku	18	7 "	0.42 "

Names of Co.	No. of Managers	Bonus	Perhead
Mitsui Kinzoku	18	7.5 million yen	0.42 million yen
Toyo Koatsu	10	8 "	0.8 "
Mitsubishi Shoji	19	9.5 "	0.5 "
Nihon Pulp	15	6 "	0.4 "
Oji Seishi (Paper)	18	7 "	0.39 "
Sankyo	10	5 "	0.5 "
Maruzen Sekiyu (Oil)	16	6 "	0.38 "
Nihon Keikinzoku (Light Metal)	15	5 "	0.33 "
Ube Kosan	22	7.5 "	0.34 "
Joban Tanko (Coal Mine)	11	4 "	0.36 "

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3) Workers remain outstanding over capitalists:

Take an example of Fuji Seitetsu Co. Majority of the workers of this company, one of the three steel monopolies of Japan, are paid less than 20,000 yen. According to an official figure , however, profit reaped by the enterprise for the past six years, at the expense of approximately 20,000 toiling workers, rose to 9,395 million yen. This means that each worker of this plant produced the profet amounting to 470,000 yen during this period. It must be

pointed out in this connection that the above mentioned figure does not include taxes, share-out, or bonus to the directors. Taking these into account, it is quite certain the profit exploited from the labour of a worker has amounted even to 1,400,000 yen.

4) Low Wage System helped in enforcement of Longer-Working hours:

In parallel with scandalous wage set up, there is a serious problem of deteriolation of working conditions.

Despite a prescription in Labour Standard Law, of 8-hour-working system, the actual working hours have been lengthened far beyond the limit of the Law. The official sources have revealed that the amount of overtime work has surpassed 20% of the regular working hours.

	March	April	May	June
1954	193.7 (20.9)	203.8 (20.4)	191.4 (19.7)	199.4 (18.0)
1955	203.8 (18.8)	192.8 (18.4)	182.8 (18.4)	203.3 (18.7)

	July	August	Sept.	Oct.
1954	196.7 (16.2)	195.0 (15.5)	197.4 (16.4)	194.4 (16.8)
1955	200.1 (18.1)	201.6 (18.4)	204.7 (20.7)	200.2 (20.9)

	Nov.	Dec.
1954	199.6	199.3
	(17.8)	(19.1)
1955	202.2	187.1
	(23.0)	(20.3)

Figures in parenthesis show overtime work.

The Labour Standard Law prescribes that overtime work is to be guaranteed with allowance counting to 25% increase of ordinary work, which is, in the present situation, so frequently overlooked.

Exercise of longer working hours is partly due to the condition of some workshops which are too busy and necessitate as well as enforce workers to work overtime, and partly to the living condition of the masses who can not afford their living within the limit of their regular earning.

In general, the present wage level has not yet recovered to that of the prewar standard.

Even in case of Yawata Seitetsu, the biggest steel monopoly, the wage rate has only come up to 85% of that of prewar period.

5) Workers are United for winning of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System:

The fight for establishment lf the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System is therefore a fight of Japanese workers to raise the lowest wage level, and to bring extremely low wage of 8,000 yen or less to an end.

Despite the persistent struggle of workers for over 40 years, the System has not yet been won in the face of strong resistance on the part of the capitalist class. The reason is the existence of low wages is used as a source of creating huge profits for monopolies.

As we mention later, they stick to a policy to increase export by means of enforcement of low wage system as their basic principle. And this is a natural result of the low wage policy oppressing purchasing power of the population.

The ostensible minimum wage system advocated by the Government and the monopolistic capitalists is not only to be served to divert the demands of the workers, but also to be served to hoodwink the international criticisms on Japan's social damping by implementing ostensible minimum wage system only to the workers of export industry.

SOHYO has succeeded in developing unity of actions, regardless of difference in organizations, among trade unions such as ZENRO and SHINSANBETSU. However, the stronger and the pressive the demand of the workers are, the fiercer the attacks of capitalists to crush it. Hoping to have support and cooperation rendered by the workers of the world to effectively carry on our fight, we will further intensify our actions for higher wages.

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II. HISTORY OF STRUGGLES FOR GUARANTEED MINIMUM WAGE SYSTEM IN JAPAN.

1) Struggles before the II World War.

The struggles for the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System were launched at the time when the trade unions began to move actively. It was at the annual convention of the Federation of Japanese Labour (NIHON-RODO-SODOMEI) held in 1919 that the workers of Japan adopted among other demands the demand for the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System for the first time. During the I World War, the monopoly capitals of Japan took rapid strides and the workers increased. And then though with much difficulty the trade union movement was about to arise among the workers.

At the time the Brotherhood Association of Japanese Federation (NIHON-SODOMEI-YUAIKAI), which had been organized around the core of a few progressive intellectuals and had been no more than a small association, changed its name to the Federation of Japanese Labour (NIHON-RODO-SODOMEI) and this young tree was going to take root in our soil, the masses. The membership had already grown to about thirty thousand and the locals to more than a hundred and twenty.

In 1920 the next year, the Communist Party was organized for the first time in Japan. We can find out the slogan for the enforcement of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System in the programme adopted by the Party at the time of its establishment.

Added to it, in the same year, on the occasion of May Day celebrated for the first time in Japan, one of the three big slogans was the en-

forcement of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System, the other two being the abolition of Article 17 of the Public Peace Police Law and the prevention of unemployment.

The demands for the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System, nevertheless, had been confined to the adoption of the slogan, until in 1927 the Council of Trade Unions of Japan (NIHON-RODOKUMIAI-HYOGIKAI) launched the struggle for the five laws, among which was the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System.

Before the II World War, the activities of the workers of Japan had been placed under restraint of various oppressive laws such as the Public Peace Maintenance Law, the Public Peace Police Law, the Publication Law, the Criminal Law and so on. The authorities used to prohibit the meetings of the workers, all strikes used to be trampled down and many of the revolutionary leaders had been thrown into prison.

The Government and the capitalists were intensifying their policy of oppression and split so as to weaken the trade union movements and the trade unions of Japan went through hardships and privations, suffering from repeated splits, which was partly due to the weakness of the class and parties of the workers and to the parties' rule over the trade unions.

Even in 1936 when the trade unions in Japan had the greatest members before the II World War, the membership was only 420,589 and in 1931 when the workers of Japan was most highly organized, the rate of organization was only 7.9%. Thus the trade unions had had a slight force throughout that period.

It is due to the severe situations surrounding the trade union movements of Japan, that the struggles for the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System could not have developed into the masses' struggles though the minority leaders of the movements had been instinctively conscious of the necessity of the struggles for the System.

But in 1927 the Council of Trade Unions of Japan (NIHON-RODOKUMIAI-HYOGIKAI) and the proletarian parties, espedially the Workers' and Peasants' Party which had started to move actively since the enforcement of the universal suffrage, required the enactment of the five laws; the unemployment allowance law, the guaranteed minimum wages law, the eight-hour day system law, the health insurance law and the women and minors protection law.

Everywhere the workers went on strikes on the basis of their daily demands and in spite of the violent oppression they held their meetings accompanied with strikes for a few hours in some factries.

The struggles for the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System had thus arisen among the workers but the scheduled general strike for the System could not be fought successfully and the struggles fell away. It was owing to the following conditions; that the Federation of Trade Unions of Japan (NIHON-RODO-KUMIAI-HYOGIKAI) was a weak organization with only fifty-nine trade unions and 35,000 members under it, that the Federation fixed its influence only over the workers of the medium and small enterprises, that the other trade unions did not positively support this demand and that the then Government brought an increasing pressure upon the Federation. The next year the Federation was ordered by the Government to break up.

When the Agreement on the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System was considered at the Eleventh Session of the General Conference of Members of the International Labour Organization, the representative of the employers of our country openly opposed to it and the representative of our Government manifested opposition by abstaining from voting.

During the period of the world panic and the industrial rationalization since 1929, the wages of the workers were cut down more and more. It is during that period that the social dumping by the monopoly capitals of Japan especially came to be notorious throughout the world.

The expansion of the war, from the invasion to the North-East District of China to the Japan-China War and to the II World War, injured and killed the freedom of the workers. All trade unions were ordered to break up and the Association for Service to the State through Industry (SANGYO-HOKOKU-KAI) was established on the ruins of trade unions. The wage control was enforced by the Government, instead of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System.

2) Struggles inspired after the Defect.

In August 1945, the II World War came to an end. As soon as the political and social yokes were taken off, the workers stood up together for the defence of life.

Then the workers of Japan were in the depth of poverty and were suffering from inflation and the shortage of food. The wage level in 1946 was only 20% of the prewar wage level.

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In every district the workers began to struggle for the three or five times higher wages. Many of these struggles were fought successfully and the organization of trade unions developed in the cource of the struggles.

The organized workers rapidly increased from zero in August 1945 to 1,540,000 in February 1946, 4,170,000 in October 1946, more than 6,000,000 at the end of 1947. It was the fifteen times as many as the workers before the War and about one half of all the workers were organized. Under such conditions, two national federations, the Congress of Industrial Unions of Japan (SAMBETSU-KAIGI) and the Japan Federation of Trade Unions (NIHON-RODO-SODOMEI), were organized in 1946. The membership of the former was 1,600,000 and the latter 850,000.

The so-called ' anti-inflation policy ' such as the Financial Urgent Measures Order in February 1947 was nothing but the preventive measure for the expected wage increase beyond 500 yen through the wage hike offensives. Still the prices went on rising in a sharp curve and the real wages continued declining despite of the struggles of the workers under the influence of the inflation policy. In short, the wage struggles in that period was the struggles for the living wages and naturally they shifted to the struggles to secure the minimum wages.

For instance, the Trade Union of Toshiba Electric Machine Company struggled for the higher wages and demanded 1,000 yen on the average and 600 yen at the lowest. Many trade unions such as the All-Japan Electric Industry Workers Union (DENSAN), the Japan Broadcasting Workers' Union (NIPPORO), the Japan Federation of Press Workers Union (SHIMBUN-RŌREN) and the Governmental and

Public Workers Unions (KANKORO) demanded 600 yen as the guaranteed minimum wage. These struggles could have frustrated the yoke of 500 yen fixed by the Government.

The so-called October Struggles were fought in 1946. And at the beginning of 1947 almost all workers, governmental and non-governmental, were intending to go on a general strike on February 1 and the establishment of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System with the minimum 650 yen to a sixteen-year-old worker was aimed at among other objects. But the ' February 1st General Strike ' was prohibited by the authorities of the US occupation forces. And in order to dodge the force of the masses, the Government established the Wages and Sararies Inquiry Commission which was the tripartite organization for the consideration of the wages.

The Temporary Wages and Sararies Inquiry Commission determined to decide the minimum wages and the standard wages but, when the movements of the workers became low-pitched after the prohibition of the February 1st General Strike, ceased to consider the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System and was going to control the wages and fix the wages at 1,800 yen level in July 1947. The Commission, which whould have determined the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System, thus stopped its function and wore off.

The severe wage-hike offensives were still continued and soon the fixed wage level of 1,800 yen was crushed off. In these struggles many trade unions demanded the establishment of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System on the basis of the living cost. The Japan Postal Workers Union (ZENTEI) demanded the so-called dual wages; that was the specified wage demand for the wages backed materially by the

vital goods necessary for the minimum standard of life, conforming to the two parallel minimum wages, one on the basis of the reasonable wages and the other on the basis of the current prices, both official and free.

The struggles mentioned above had been the struggles for the minimum wages by means of the collective bargaining. In those days many trade unions called for the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System but in most cases there was not a sharp distinction between the minimum wages provided in the collective agreement and the minimum wages authorized by the law. And the struggles had not developed beyond the struggles for the minimum wages prescribed by the collective agreements into the struggles for the legally authorized minimum wages.

In 1948 the National Public Service Law was revised by the order of the General Headquarters of the Allied Powers and it deprived the Governmental and public workers of their rights of strike and of organization. The next year the Trade Union Law was also revised and thus the trade unions of non-governmental workers came to be restricted in their movements. Moreover the ' red purdge ' was carried out in a large scale throughout the country and almost all ' red ' trade unionists were expelled out of their factories and offices. Added to it, the sectionalism of the trade unions did harm to themselves. And thus the force of the trade unions and also their struggles for the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System were gradually weakened.

In these situations, in March 1950, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO) declared its establishment.

III. GUARANTEED MINIMUM WAGE SYSTEM DEMANDED BY SOHYO AND THE PRESENT ASPECT OF THE STRUGGLE

1) SOHYO's Basic Principle of the Fight:

In 1952, SOHYO issued its wage programme, by which it decided to fight for the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System as a united target of wage hike. It appealed to all walks of workers to popularize the importance of the System and to reinforce unity for the success of the struggle.

Claim for the enactment of minimum wage System was stressed in the wage programme, which read as follows:

"Guarantee all workers 8,000 yen minimum wage!", and "State should guarantee the medium and small enterprises that are unable to pay 8,000 yen minimum wage."

Demand for 8,000 yen minimum wage system was already put up in wage hike struggles conducted in 1952 and 1953. However, actions of majority of labour unions were concentrated upon how to raise the minimum wage to 8,000 yen within the respective unions, giving little effort to develop the demand to a nation-wide campaign to urge the Government the enactment of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System. As a result, the idea that a demand for the System would grow as a natural consequence of accumulation of success won by unions either on enterprise or industrial levels, became prevalent among some leaders of labour unions. This was one of the reasons why sufficient instructions have not been given in regard to this question. Demand for the Guaranteed

42/2A/21

Minimum Wage System has been switched to a wage-claim for 8,000 yen as a starting wage.

On the basis of stern criticisms on faults and drawbacks which existed in struggles of past years, the VI th National Convention of SOHYO, which was held to prepare for 1956 spring wage-up struggle, adopted a new wage programme, clarifying its stand as follows:

" Demand for the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System should be organized even from the standpoint of raising wages of workers of petty family-type industries, minor enterprises and unorganized workers.

For this purpose, it is of utmost importance to organize a united front on the basis of a common claim for immediate enactment of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System. This activity should be carried on in stronger solidarity with all walks of people who are demanding the establishment of basic human rights."

Then, the VII th Annual Convention of SOHYO held in August 1957 decided to put up minimum 8,000 yen wage system as a united common target of all the workers on wage-hike. This served not only to correct past drawbacks but to further develop correct ideas stressed in wage programme.

2) SOHYO's Action to win Guaranteed Minimum Wage System:

On the basis of the decision made at the VIIth National Convention, SOHYO set up a Minimum Wage System Promotion Committee under the cooperation of

scholars and specialists on this subject, for the purpose of intensifying the forthcoming actions.

A closer contact was also established with Socialist Party, on one hand, and with the ZENRO, Congress of All-Japan Trade Unions, and the SHIN-SAMBETSU, National Federation of Industrial Unions, on the other. In parallel with these activities, discussions were organized on local and regional levels, to further deepen the understanding among workers in regard to this question.

3) Contents of SOHYO's Minimum Wage System:

The following is the contents of the System demanded by SOHYO.

1. "Healthy and cultural living is a common demand of all sectors of workers. The first step to make this demand realized is to destroy the present low wage system. This is the fundamental reason why we demand the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System."

2. Minimum wage shall be decided on the basis of minimum living cost, together with other circumstances that need consideration.

3. Guaranteed Minimum Wage System should be worked out so that all workers shall be guaranteed with 8,000 yen per month, within the limit of 8-hour work system as prescribed in the Labour Standard Law. However, the minimum sum must be decided in the development of joint actions for this united target.

The minimum wage of the workers who get

paid weekly, daily or hourly is to be decided according to the following methods.

4. a. To apply Deliberative Council method. The Council should be represented by three bodies. Each member of the Council shall be given full rights necessary to achieve the purpose.

b. Its obligations are:

1. Central Wage Deliberative committee has an obligation to make a report once a year, (April), to the Minister of Labour, on whether or not a minimum wage under execution is appropriate.

2. When it is necessary either to increase or decrease minimum wage by more than 5%, owing to a change of situation in deciding minimum wage, Central Deleberative Committee must make recommendation to the Minister of Labour in this connection.

3. When recommendation is made by the Committee, the Minister of Labour must, in respect for the recommendation, take an appropriate measure immediately.

5. In accordance with the abovementioned principle:

a. Guaranteed Minimum Wage System shall be put into effect immediately after its establishment.

b. To facilitate its effect to the full,

it is absolutely necessary to carry on special measures to aid medium and small enterprises. Efforts should also be made to put the abovementioned measures into effect in cooperation with "Counter measures for Medium and Small Enterprises" proposed by Socialist Party.

4) Spring Struggle of 1957 for Guaranteed Minimum Wage System:

At the Tactics Conference held in January, Sohyo decided the following:

1. To strengthen regional joint-struggle bodies to reinforce co-fights for winning of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System. This measure shall be taken chiefly through the activities of regional meetings to be held from the middle to the end of February.

2. To intensify exchanges among workshops.

3. To investigate actual conditions of workers of miner enterprises.

These will contribute to build up necessary ground for the campaign, stirring up vital enthusiasm among workers.

4. In parallel with struggles being waged by the Government and public service employees, local industrial unions will hold as many workshop rallies as possible, developing publicity activities in regard to the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System.

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Action for the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System will be highlighted around March 11 to 15 when the spring wage-hike comes to its climax with a large-scaled strike, 4,000,000 workers involving civil workers, government and public servants and workers of minor enterprises will be mobilized to a powerful representation to the Government and the Diet for the full implementation of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System.

In Case the System can not be won, workers will further develop their offensive, resorting to a big-scaled action for the winning of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System, which is planned on March 23.

In parallel with this fight, a negotiation between the representatives of the Government and SOHYO will be started, on February 25, on the question of enactment of the System.

IV. CAPITALIST AIMING TO SUBSTITUTE THE DEMANDS OF WORKER

Led by the Sohyo, Japanese workers demand with the Japan Socialist Party the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System of 8,000 yen throughout the country, And so the workers are concerned seriously about the viewpoints of the government and the capitalists on these demands. Let us explain their viewpoints and aims by the latest movements and documentary materials.

The government and Japan Federation of Employers' Association (NIKKEIREN) were constant to keep firmly their policy of refusing the enforcement of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage until last year. The government established the Wage Inquiry Committee in 1950 that is provided by the Labour Standard Act, but its purpose is to substitute the demands of workers advencing for the Guaranteed Minimum Wage Law. The Committee researched only of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System in the limit of a few home industry related to the export. The reply of the Committee as a result of four year research argued that the System should be considered in four industries related to the export on the eve of entry into the Gatt. This reply received the unanimous support from the labour, management and public, but this is due to the undoubted attitude of the government that would not enact it. Japan Federation of Employers' Association anounced, at the same time, their opinion that the enactment is premature.

Let us see at first the Labour Standard Law which the Labour Ministry thinks as the base of the System. It is as follows.

Article 28 The administrative office is able to fix the minimum wage of labour employed in the certain enterprises or professions when recognized as necessary.

Article 29 (1) To establish the central and local wage committees for the inquiry of matters on the Guaranteed Minimum Wage..
((2), (3) and (4) is omitted)

Article 30 The administrative office has to ask the research and opinion of the Inquiry Committee in advance on the occasion of fixing the Guaranteed Minimum Wage.
(The rest is omitted)

As mentioned above, the System provided by the Labour Standard Act covers only "the worker employed in the certain industries or professions" and not in the whole or every industry such as the worker demands. Furthermore, though the Committee composed of the delegates from the public, labour and management has the right to submit its opinions, the decisive power is kept by the Labour Minister. The establishment of the Committee based on this Act aimed to relieve the blame for the social dumping in 1950 when the problem of entry into the Gatt was under discussion. As rising of the struggles again since 1955, the government and Japan Federation of Employers' Association are maneuvering to bring the ineffective system in operation for the purpose of substituting the struggles of worker once again.

The Labour Ministry, which had organized the Wage Inquiry Room to make to study the Guaranteed Minimum Wage, published the viewpoint as a tentative

conclusion in the February issue (1957) of "The Rodo Jihoo (The Labour Review)".
It is as follows:

> As the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System in foreign countries was enacted after the social and economic base were consolidated to a certain degree, in our country "it is the best way to introduce the substantial System in the contract formula to the small and medium enterprises around the export industries for the time being before its enactment based on the Act".

Recently the Round Table Conference of Labour Problems, which is a consultive organ of the Labour Minister (composed of the delegates from public, labour and management), anounced too the same draft of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage as the Wage Inquiry Committee, but it met the strong opposition from the worker.

We can recognize the apparent intention of capitalist in the following document of the government.

> On Enforcement of GMW
> by Contract Formula

> Though the reply on the Guaranteed Minimum Wage based on the Labour Standard Act has been submitted already to the Labour Minister from the Central Wage Inquiry Committee, its enforcement in the four industries which was mentioned in that reply is not yet carried out untill today because of the business conditions and dark prospects against realization

of the effective measure in these industries.

However, the enforcement of the effective system in our country is not only necessary fundamentaly for the stabilization of employment and the modernization of work line-up, but also has very important significance from the more concrete standpoint of the better working conditions of worker, the sound development of our economy by the prevention of the over-competition among the enterprises and the maintainance and elevation of the international credence.

Therefore, the both party concerned of labour and management should make every effort for the improvement of this problem, and especially the government should consider the enforcement of the regular Guaranteed Minimum Wage.

However, seeing the real conditions of the small and medium enterprises in our country to-day, there are not so many enterprises having rational wage structure and are much less cases guaranteeing the minimum wage. Therefore, it is appropriate way that the government make efforts for the enforcement of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage based on the law and at the same time should enforce it for the time being in the formula of contracts among the enterprises around the industries having the ability like the export industries, in order to build the sccial and economic base so that it may be enforced.

And in view of the present stage of the economic development of our country, the

government should make every effort, on this occasion, to establish the appropriate policy for the small and medium enterprises and should consider so that the enforcement by this formula may conform to the real conditions by taking into account the views of labour and management. Furthermore, the government should reopen the Central Wage Inquiry Committee as soon as possible to get the report about the situation that the wage contracts may be enforced, and should prepare, by hearing its opinions, the research so that the Guaranteed Minimum Wage based on the law may be enforced smoothly at the future.

This is a way of fixing the same starting wage of the minimum age by an agreement among the employers around the industries concerned to the export in where the workers are not organized. We have already experienced such an enforcement in the packing industries of tuna and tangerine at Shizuoka Prefecture last April.

But we can prove in many points that this system do not increase but peg the wage of worker.

The starting wage contracted in these industries is only 160 yen per 8 hour work day and means the wage raise of only 5,500 yen at the gross amount per month and per company even in the scale of enterprise having 200 employees on the average.

Though the Asahi, one of leading newspapers in Japan, supported the contracts among enterprises in a editorial of Feb. 2, at the same time pointed out that "it is feared that the contract

wage will be used to deteriorate the working conditions" if there is no "assurance to see the opinion of worker reflect certainly when the wage is fixed", and claimed "if the contract is possible, the regular Guaranteed Minimum Wage System based on the law could be established by taking a step forward."

But Japan Federation of Employers' Association tries to check the government by following argument:

> Since the principle of contract among enterprise is self-sustaining thorogyly, the administrative leadership accompanied with compulsion even in a slight degree must be refrained rigidly. Just like the petty enterprise that its object is, the recommendation of the administrative, if going too far, might lead to many evils, and there is need for the deliveration, providing for the future, about the separate enforcement in each prefecture. Furthermore, the pressure from the beneath such as the General Council of Trade Unions and other trade unions is expected. Therefore it is feared to raise the troubles necessarily. ("Nikkeiren Times", Feb. 7, 1957)

Though Japan Federation of Employers' Association seems to change its attitude a little from the absolute opposition to the only formal recognition, in reality it is only the verbal concession, and there is no co-operative attitude. They announced the wage policy against the Spring Offensive of 1957. By the policy they try to limit the coverage of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage System to the petty home industries only. And they claim there is need for the research on the conditions to enforce the System for the time being. But if the research is a matter claiming prior the enforcement, it will be perhaps put off from 5 to 10

years hence. This is proved by the result of the Wage Inquiry Committees research.

THE END

[1958?]

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

FIELD SECRETARIES' OFFICE

4403 VIRGINIA AVENUE, LOUISVILLE 11, KENTUCKY • SPRING 4-3331

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42/5a/89

Dear Friend:

We are writing to you because of your interest in the Kentucky "sedition" cases, which were thrown out of court on the basis of a Supreme Court decision declaring state sedition laws inoperative.

There are now pending in both houses of Congress bills that would nullify this decision. We understand there is real danger that these bills will pass.

We are especially concerned about this because we know from our own experience how such laws can be used against people working to bring about integration in the South. Most of these state statutes are broad and loosely worded, and to the officials of many of our Southern states integration is sedition. You can imagine what may happen if every little local prosecutor in the South is turned loose with a state sedition law.

It is small comfort to realize that such cases would probably eventually be thrown out by the Supreme Court. Before such a case reaches the Supreme Court, the human beings involved have spent several years of their lives fighting off the attack, their time and talents have been diverted from the positive struggle for integration, and money needed for that struggle has been spent in a defensive battle.

It should also be pointed out that these bills to validate state sedition laws are only a part of a sweeping attack on the U. S. Supreme Court. The real and ultimate target is the court decisions outlawing segregation. Won't you write your two senators and your congressman asking them to oppose S. 654, S.2646, and H.R. 977. Also ask them to stand firm against all efforts to curb the Supreme Court. It is important that you write - and get others to write - immediately as the bills may come up at any time.

Cordially yours,

Carl & Anne Braden

Carl and Anne Braden
Field Secretaries

SPELMAN COLLEGE
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
ATLANTA. GEORGIA

May 16, 1958

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I wish to take this, your ninetieth birthday, as an opportunity to salute you for your many and varied contributions to American life.

As a member of the Atlanta University System, I am acquainted with the excellent job you did as professor and as head of the department of sociology at Atlanta University. I have read many of your writings, which show clear thinking and cast a strong light on many of the problems faced by the Negro.

Your name will long be revered in the fields of education, literature, and public service. You have lived a rich, full life, and in so doing, you have done much to make life rich and full for others.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Albert E. Manley

Albert E. Manley
President

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Mr. T. K. Gibson, Sr.
Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company
3501 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

27-29A-82

[Sung Ch'ing-ling
(Soong Ching Ling)]

41-19F-15

51 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, New York
July 6, 1958

Madame Soong

Dear Madam[redacted],

I want to tell you of the deep pleasure which your letter of March 18th gave me. Long years ago in 1936 when I spent a few days in China I tried to get in touch with you but failed. Then I had the pleasure of working a short time with the China Welfare in New York in company with Tabitha Gerlach. But always the great Chinese people have been far from my touch and knowledge. Yet from boyhood I felt near them; they were my physical cousins. And today, as I feel them rising to their real place in the world and taking that leadership of mankind to which their long and glorious history entitles them, I am filled with joy.

For now seven years this American government has refused me and my wife passports for travel and I have been held a prisoner in this hysterical land when such miracles have transpired in Asia and Africa. Last month our Supreme Court restored to Americans the right to travel and at last my wife and I are leaving for Europe late in August. I hope that we may see China before we return, but the expense may prevent. I was heartbroken last year when I had to refuse the gracious invitation of Kuo Mo jo. If possible I will come this Fall, but perhaps it will be impossible. We sail from here August 29th. My London address will be in care of Cedric Belfrage, 16 Talbot Square, London W 2.

Meantime, accept, dear Madame, my appreciation for all you have done for your people and the world in happy commemoration of your great husband. May you still work long and happily in this your new and triumphant life.

My wife, Shirley Graham, joins me in love and greeting.

Most sincerely,

G

Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Co.

HOME OFFICE
3501 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

OFFICE OF
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

42/3/167

December 3, 1958

Mrs. D. Graham McCann
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, New York

Dear Mrs. McCann:

Please note from copy herewith enclosed that important papers have been sent Dr. DuBois--one of them being a certified check and another an affidavit for Income Tax use. I am sure you will see that the letter is kept safe and secure for him. As the check is certified, the date when cashed will make no material difference.

I shall be glad to be advised when Dr. returns.

Very truly yours,

T. K. Gibson, Sr.
Chairman of the Board

41-19F-2

July 14, 1958

Alekssi Surkov
Secretary of the Soviet Writers
Moscow, USSR

My dear Mr.Surkov:

May I thank you for your kind greeting on my birthday last February. If I am able to be in Moscow this fall I shall hope to see you and other Soviet writers and greet them in person.

Very sincerely yours,

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
June 2, 1958

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

42-54-69

Dear Friend:

Now that you are back in town I am turning over to you today the manuscript (copy #18) of Lorraine Hansberry's "Raisin in the Sun". Louis Burnham was good enough to suggest to Mr. Rose that I be invited to the reading of this play on April 27 at Mr. Rose' home. The cast participated and for me it was a richly rewarding experience. At the time I suggested to Mr. Rose and Miss Hansberry that if it were possible you and Shirley should read the script and they accepted with alacrity.

Mr. Rose' secretary says that he would like to have the script back within a few weeks so will you be governed by that please? His business address is

Philip Rose
157 West 57th St.
N.Y.C. Phone number Circle 5-2255

By the way, since Miss Hansberry was a pupil of yours here is her address and phone number:

Lorraine Hansberrry
337 Bleecker St.
N.Y.C. Phone number Chelsea 2-3875

I know that you will return the script in the safest possible way -- I imagine that registered mail would fill the bill.

Cordially and respectfully yours,

Muriel I. Symington

[Muriel I. Symington]

Madison, July 4, 1958
Wisconsin the motto of which should be
"What a friend we have in Cheeses"

42-SA-159

Round Robin #4
Operation Lazybones

Dear Friends: What a relief to drive through lovely fertile Wisconsin with its lush meadows gently rolling hills and beautiful trees after the weary expanses of the prairie states. Wis. hasn't the thrilling vistas but it's most satisfying with its lovely greenery and neat little towns. We are holed up here for the long weekend in a motel hard by the University. Yesterday afternoon we called on Editor Rubin of the Progressive just before he left on a well earned three day fishing trip -- so we talked fishing instead of politics, except for a brief, tart reference to the Adams-Goldfine embroglio. I said I felt one thing had so far been missed in comments on the business. Nobody has expressed amazement that a man like Adams could have had one damned thing socially in common with an uncultivated crude go-getter like Goldfine. When I saw his picture I said to Julia -- Good God has J. McCarthy returned from the grave?

Mr. Rubin remarked that little use as he has for the President the departure of Adams would make confusion worse confounded. I asked after LeRoy Gore of "Joe must go" fame and Mr. R. said he was back after his publishing venture in the south and living with his son for the time being. We had quite a correspondence when I was trying to raise some money for his campaign when he ran for Senator after the revengeful Joe's cohorts ran LeRoy's paper out of existence. I got him on the phone and he and Mrs. Gore are driving in to dine with us tomorrow, so I'll hear about his adventures in Alabama -- he has done some article for Evjue of the Capital Times on these experiences. Then I got hold of John Gasser who was Gore's campaign manager and we will dine together on Sunday evening, so I'll have some dirt to dish I'm sure. Only sorry that Appleton is so far away so that I could place a wreath of skunk cabbage on Joe's grave.

Montana made up for some of its dreary stretches with a macabre stretch of badlands in Makoshika State Park -- the word Makoshika is Indian for badlands. We saw them from a promontory stretching out in a great valley looking like something out of hell -- no symmetrical rocks but just a vista of wild confusion -- if Billy Graham could preach against a backdrop like this the suckers would stampede to get on the roster of the redeemed.

In the same vicinity we came across quite another aspect of Nature's wonders. We came upon a modest little shop -- The Agate Shop -- and fortunately went in. The proprietor who incongruously is a welder by trade has become quite an adept at cutting and polishing agates and is a scholar on the subject. He took out of his safe a set which was a museum piece -- an oval and two square agates -- pale translucent grey background but as if painted dark clumps of perfectly outlined fir trees -- Nature seems to have been prophetic since probably these agates were formed in the glacial age -- a museum is dickering for them but as the price is $2,000 it is quite an outlay. I bought an illustrated booklet which shows the lovely designs in various types of agate. It seems that throughout the country not only have increasing numbers of people begun to prospect for agates but many clubs have been formed whose members have learned to cut and polish the stones.

The proprietor assured us that we hadn't seen anything yet! He took us down into his cellar workshop where piled on a counter were just ordinary grayish rocks -- seemingly. He turned out the light and in pitch darkness turned on an infra-red light (also used in crime detection). The grey rocks became a display of gorgeous scintillating colors and many color designs -- obviously beyond the color spectrum which the human eye can pick up. How fortunate that this fluorescence isn't visible to the naked eye -- or we would have to wear dark glasses all the time.

42-54-160

A most amusing incident happened when we were on a tour in South Dakota, near Deadwood. En route we passed a doll museum and our burley 270 pound driver urged us to visit it. Thinking it was just another of those things we said we would pass it up. He shook his head. Returning we had to double back and as we passed the little museum he slowed up "Would you girls mind waiting a few minutes — I hate to pass this place without going in." Well that aroused our curiosity and we went in. It was truly remarkable and beautifully set up. There were dolls donated by famous American families resurrected from attics wearing period costumes -- from the aristocracy of dolls down to a rather moving collection of dolls which southern poor folk had ingeniously contrived for want of money to buy one - the little heads carved from wood or nutshells and crudely painted. There were dolls from every part of the globe -- from the crude Fiji Island dolls to the magnificent Chinese dolls from Mandarin families. It certainly established the universality of the doll fetish! As we discussed the exhibit afterwards the driver would twit us with "And that was the place you didn't want to visit!"

Last Monday, as you may have seen by the papers, all hell broke loose weatherwise around Bergus Falls, Minn. Sunday night all night lightning and thunder kept us awake and at dawn it hailed -- but good. We could hear it clattering on Butch our faithful Buick but no damage was done. We started out early but it began to deluge rain and when we stopped for breakfast we heard that 20 miles away at Prairie Lake a tornado had struck and warning were out ahead. We couldn't wait to get off the road and in Barnesville the roof was off the townhall. We were in a motel by noon and stayed there. Next morning as we travelled it was sickening to see the fields of green beans and other ripening crops simply torn to shreds -- a season's work gone -- some had storm insurance others did not. 1500 laying hens simply disappeared when the barn blew away. I don't think that farmers should have to carry insurance against what is blasphemously termed "an act of God". The Federal government should assume this responsibility for all but if they did so the insurance companies would no doubt raise hell.

It was good that the S.C. knocked out the fine against NAACP -- but the Lemley edict was simply deplorable. One thing interests me in connection with this if it finally is returned to the S.C. Their desegregation decision was unanimous. In certain cases when a judge has been party to a decision he must abstain -- for instance in California I think that Warren abstained because he had been involved in a law before the Court on appeal so if the Lemley decision finally is returned to them I don't see how they can adjudicate on their own decision!

We couldn't have found a more pleasant place in which to lay over for several days. The university is really remarkable institution -- its campus seems to invade the city in all directions -- in fact Madison can truly be called a university town as well as the capital. I believe there are upwards of 9,000 summer school students on deck, the increase in the roster being due in part to lack of summer employment opportunities. I saw in one of the college cafeterias the amusing spectaclt of six nuns with trays standing beside some of "les girls" jauntily clad in shorts, shirts and socks! I found out from one youngster that about 50 nuns are taking summer courses -- teachers no doubt. The students are from every state in the union and while the garb of both sexes is most informal their clothing is clean and fresh and they apparently attend lectures thus.

Talk about an omnipresent Deity! He has nothing on Custer -- he dogged our journey for hundreds of miles but at long last we passed near the place where he made his unlamented last stand -- resisting the roadside invitation to visit the sanctified spot. It is reasonable to conclude that the Indians left nothing of his body or nothing recognizable else it would be enshrined in a tomb to outrival that of Lincoln!

We heard the hour long radio tribute to George C. Marshall -- obviously recorded -- including a tribute from Ike! McCarthy being dead and having nothing to lose the president didn't have to weigh his words. But the shocker was the account of the hour long speech made in the Senate by that blackguard Jenner in which he hurled against him every foul slander in the book -- and only one Senator rose to protest -- and worst of all the pusillanimous Ike preserved a stony silence in the attack on his former commander. When a newspaper man phoned Marshall about this Marshall delivered a crusher -- "Jenner -- I never heard of him."

42-5A-161

Sunday morning

"Joe must go" Leroy Gore came in from Ft. Atkinson to have dinner with us -- and Mrs. Gore. The account he gave of his newspaper venture in Alabama was a revelation even to me. Luckily Wm. T. Evjue the distinguished editor of the Madison Capital Times has requested him to write a series of articles on the subject and as his experience casts intimate and valuable light on racial relations there I am writing Mr. Evjue requesting his secretary to send the series to each of you and also to National Guardian, hoping that I guess right in what I think I'll owe him.

Not being very good at driving around an unfamiliar city we took a cab to a restaurant night before last. Our driver was a J. Quinn Brisben who is writing his doctoral thesis on "Race riots in this century" -- nothing will surprise me now -- I wouldn't turn a hair if we were chauffeured by an Episcopalian bishop in full canonicals making a little money on the side!

It was good news to know that the passport decision favors not only Rockwell Kent. but Lamont, Dr. Du Bois. We caught up with the N.Y. Times and read the blistering letter by Dr. Otto Nathan on the plan of Congressman Walter to introduce nullifying legislation.

We start on the last lap tomorrow -- when we reach Chicago we'll travel the turnpikes.

Cheerio

Maud

It was wonderful to talk to you the other night -- young Brisben said he has corresponded with you on his project. I can't help wondering if Paul got a passport also -- if not that will certainly be unfinished business.

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
July 13, 1958

42-54-105

Dear Friends:

Over the July 4 weekend my travelling companion and I combined prudence with pleasure — staying off the road over that lethal occasion.

The pleasure was derived from a visit with Editor Morris Rubin of The Progressive; a dinner visit with Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy Gore — he of "Joe's Music Co" fame; and a dinner visit with Mr. and Mrs. John Gasser — John Gasser was Secretary of the Gore-for-Congress committee.

We were absorbed in Mr. Gore's account of his macabre experiences in Alabama, where he essayed the role of Daniel in the lion's den in attempting to establish a daily paper in that benighted section. Learning that William T. Evjue, Editor and Publisher of the Madison Capital Times had engaged Mr. Gore to write a series of articles on this experience of a year's duration, I wrote to Mr. Evjue and arranged to have the series mailed to several friends whom I'm sure would be interested — you are one of them. The first three instalments have been dispatched and I am sure that if and when more follow that they will be sent to complete the series.

If you have any questions to ask or comments to make on these articles I'm sure Mr. Gore would welcome them. For the present he may be reached % Mr. Donald Gore, Ft. Atkinson, Wisconsin.

Cordially yours,

Muriel I. Symington

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
July 28, 1958

Correspondence Editor
New York Post
75 West Street
New York City

42/59/82

Dear Friend:

"And it says much for the undoubted advance of civil rights here over the last quarter century that the once-homeless student who slept in a New York subway spent three nights this week in the luxurious comfort of Washington's Blair House, the official residence of visiting dignitaries to this country."

I read with interest and appreciation columnist Poston's comprehensive article on Prime Minister Nkrumah but the statement I have quoted filled me with incredulous amazement. If a Pulitzer prize were offered for the best example of unwitting satire in 1958, this should win hands down.

Mr. Poston well knows that were Kwami Nkrumah to visit us incognito he would suffer, at best, galling indignities in the south and in other parts of our country encounter the varying degrees of "tolerance" meted out to Negroes.

That Washington has done honor to Kwami Nkrumah is not homage to a man of worth and dignity but solely an act of statecraft, having not the remotest relevance to any progress we may have made in the matter of civil liberties, which notwithstanding Mr. Poston's illusions, have retrogressed to an unprecedented degree. The events resulting from the Supreme Court decision on desegregation afford ample proof of this.

Sincerely yours,

Muriel I. Symington

Teachers Union
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
EST. 1916

206 WEST 15th STREET
NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK
TEL. WATKINS 4-5524

115

President Abraham Lederman • Vice-President Harry Starfield • Legislative Representative Rose V. Russell • Secretary Lucile Spence • Treasurer Mildred K. Garvin

42/5a/130

January 22, 1958

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I am pleased to inform you that you have been listed in the article, "Negroes of the Year - 1957" appearing in our publication, "Negro History Week", which was issued this week as a four-page supplement to our weekly newspaper, Teacher News.

Each year tens of thousands of the supplement, an annual feature of our newspaper, is distributed to teachers and other individuals throughout the country for use in Negro History Week programs.

A copy is enclosed. We will be glad to send you additional copies upon request.

Very truly yours,

Abraham Lederman

Abraham Lederman
President

AL;hkb
ftul/1283
enc.

Tennessee
Agricultural and Industrial State University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Office of the President

May 16, 1958

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Mr. T. K. Gibson
3501 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It is a real pleasure for me to join your many friends and admirers in this "Salute to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois" and to wish you many future years of active endeavors.

I want to extend to you, on behalf of our faculty and student body, congratulations on your record of achievement. Your years in the field of education represent not only a career of the highest literary and educational standards, but also one of genuine service. You have won the respect, confidence, and admiration of all who have known you personally as well as those who know you only through your work; and you have every right to be proud of the reputation you have earned.

Accept our very best wishes for your continued success and prosperity.

Yours sincerely,

W. S. Davis, President

WSD:kew

27-290-80

Stanton, Minnesota.
Feb 13 - 1958

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois:

Dear Sir: I am embarking on the task of writing you a rather long letter and I must ask you to accept the task of reading it, as it is truly very important. I fear it will be a task for you, since I write in longhand, which is unavoidable since I have no typewriter. My apologies.

This past few months a new vision of the future has been offered to us, a vision of rockets and missiles and space travel and visits to the moon — even a resort hotel and a gambling casino on the moon! I call this a Nazi dream; an evil vision of rule by a small elite and which could not possibly bring good to any human being. Yet it is a dream fostered and approved by important figures in our government.

42-58-61

But there is an alternative to this vision. Some years ago Bertrand Russel, writing in the Saturday Review, wrote — "Surely the future will see the Sahara filled with populous cities, and central Australia will become a pastural paradise". Surely there is a vision worth considering. "The Sahara filled with populous cities"! Why not consider this vision for a while? The Sahara reclaimed from the desert and filled with prosperous cities! — that would be something of great good for this over-crowded, uncertain, dissension-wracked world. Surely a Nation that can consider space travel as practical and worth spending billions on, should not consider this proposal as impractical or prohibitively expensive.

Some 3 or 4 years ago I wrote you 2 or 3 letters proposing the flooding of the below-sea-level areas in North Africa and the moving of millions of colored people from this country to Africa to form an independent and beloved homeland for people of African descent, just as the Jews have a much-loved home in Israel.

at first you did not take to the idea, but finally you wrote me that the project might bring much good to the world but you wrote "Who is going to do this wonderful thing?"

I never answered that letter, because I could not answer that question. Bertrand Russel gave no suggestion as to when or how it was to be started either.

In the meantime I have been thinking about the problem and have accumulated a variety of information. For one thing, Egyptian experiments in reclamation have demonstrated that crops will grow luxuriantly in these desert sands - if only they have fertilizer and water; so there is no worry there.

I proposed the flooding of huge "El Juf" by digging a canal from the Atlantic and the flooding of the Tunisian salt flats by digging a canal from the Mediterranean as the Frenchman, Rondaire, proposed some 75 years ago. I have since learned that there is another big below-sea-level area in Egypt - the Great Quattara Depression. The quattara depression goes down to as much as 440 feet below sea level. Engineers have drawn tentative plans for digging a canal from the Mediterranean, through a series of tunnels through hills and into the Quattara depression where a large amount of electricity could be developed by turbines where the water goes down. This would be an expensive project but one much preferable to the Aswan High Dam. This high dam would flood much good land in the Sudan. Any dam on the Nile should be part of a general plan for control and development of the entire river. The Roseires Dam on the Blue Nile would help both Egypt and the Sudan. Even at our present levels of knowledge, simple solar stills anywhere on these canals could provide drinking water and water for sheep & livestock. Plentiful water for irrigation is another matter. The Jews are building a solar still in Israel for that purpose. I do not know how successful it will be.

42-5B-62

I believe that at this stage of history one may safely assume that within the next 10 or 12 years some country - most likely Britain or the U.S.S.R - will have developed the use of Hydrogen fusion for power. This means the use of sea water to produce electricity. There is no such thing as an ultimate weapon but there is an ultimate fuel. No one will ever find a cheaper or more plentiful fuel than sea water. Under my plan the Sahara Region would have plentiful supplies of sea-water, which means cheap electricity for power, for producing fertilizers and for de-salting ocean water for irrigation. After El Juf and the Tunisian Salt flats are filled with water a canal connecting the two seas could be dug rather easily. A highway - or perhaps an electric railroad - could be built from El Juf down to the port of Timbuktu (or Tombouctou) on the river Niger. Then goods from anywhere on the Niger river valley could be readily transported right up to the Mediterranean sea, mostly by water transport.

42-5B-63

Of course all this would be expensive - there is no denying that - but as of now this country is spending 40 billions a year on "defense" and using it quite openly to prop up our economy. And all this expense for armaments makes the U.S.A. not more secure but less secure! The danger of an explosion in any armaments race is very great. We are doing precisely what Hitler did - using the making of armaments to prop up our economy - So why should not Russia be afraid of us?

Why not use ~~part of~~ this money to reclaim part of the Sahara? I suspect it would have to be a left-wing movement to start this, but after it is started - and if the American Negro supports it many conservative elements would fall in line and support it also. Southern negro-haters would of course support it. Industrialists, who would build tractors and farm machinery and road-building equipment - and earth moving machines + cement

plants and pumps and irrigation pipes and small airplanes for crop-dusting + seeding and a multitude of similar equipment; would be enthusiastic for the chance.

Even now there is a considerable amount of rain in the Sahara region during about 4 winter months. Dams need to be built on the river beds to hold water in reservoirs for irrigation use. This could be done before there is any cheap electricity. If there are deposits of stone suitable for building stone – thousands could be employed in modern quarries cutting stone preparatory to building schools and public buildings. If our scientists really try, they can devise a way of building houses – quonset type – by spraying a compound of melted sand and other elements on a plastic barrage balloon type of foundation – like the advertisers spray on shaving cream. I know I have not explained this clearly but someone has proposed such buildings. They would be well-insulated from the heat of the sun. Aluminum windows; plywood partitions school houses and schoolroom equipment – many such things would keep contractors busy and satisfied. We will need the support of all such people to put this project over.

42-5B-64

Dr. Du Bois – I have lived almost all my life in Rural Minnesota, and the so-called "Negro-Problem" has never touched me closely. Believe me, this plan was not born because of any prejudice against the negro. But I believe that every serious student of population problems is gravely concerned about growing over-population on this earth. Modern medical science has developed a pretty efficient "death-control" – but there has been no counter-balancing development of birth-control in most countries. Populations are sometimes spoken of as "exploding" – they grow with such great rapidity. There is no quick, or immediate way of checking or reversing this development It is true that in this country many worry about the "food surplus" yet the fact remains that half the children of the world go to bed hungry every night – so they say.

Where nothing is done about it, the deserts have a tendency to spread as they have been spreading in N. Africa. With this immense and growing world population, one shudders to think what would happen if we had another drought year around the world - such as we had in 1934. And such a drought year might come at any time. The only sane precaution to take is to go into a very large scale reclamation project such as this while there is yet time. Time is required and after drought years begin again would be too late.

Now that another depression seems definitely headed our way, a large scale project to replace the armaments build-ups is certainly needed. I wish there were some way I could inspire you with the wonderful vision of the future that this brings me!

42-573-65

Looking at the so called negro problem from a distance, I note the fear, the resentment, the bitterness, engendered on both sides. Negroes have been flooding into our Northern Cities, like Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Los Angeles. As unemployment grows - resentment and bitterness will inevitably grow also. I think with shame of the bitterness and frustration that must be felt by Negro young people as they seek positions of respect and equality that is never quite accorded them. How much better if they could be confidently building a country of their own where they would be the first-class citizens and unconscious of Color lines. In North Africa they would be the Elite and leaders of their race because they would have better education and greater technical skill than others in the area. Unlike Israel, they could have a large territory and a friendly atmosphere around them. Many lessons in reclaiming desert land could be learned from Israel and it is to be hoped that a big reclamation project in the Sahara area would be an inspiration that would lead to many reclamation projects along the rivers of the dry Middle East.

Senator Humphrey – in a speech on the Senate floor on February 4 – suggested that the United States should initiate in the United Nations a movement to establish a "Middle East Development Authority" – which might create in the area the conditions necessary for a lasting peace.

Dr. Du Bois – I expect that you are a socialist and as such you believe that the only tolerable future lies with some type of socialist state – and that such a socialist state is inevitably coming. I remember that much from the days of Eugene Victor Debs! But clever and persistent propaganda in this country has builded a tremendous prejudice against "socialism" in any shape or manner. Support for a Socialist Party in this country would be practically non-existent. How then can "socialism" come??

42-58-66

But even the most rock-ribbed Republicans would see that colored people could not be sent into desert N. africa to build up a new state as "free-enterprisers". Some sort of State Authority would have to dig the canals, build the highways and the dams and the houses and reclaim the land for farm use. In a similar way, Holland has reclaimed land from the ocean floor. She builds buildings, prepares the soil – but keeps title to the land and only leases it to individual farmers who must give it the most meticulous care – under supervision.

I submit that you would be building a socialist state in North Africa – but dont ever say so! Keep it on a purely practical basis as the only way to reclaim a desert area.

My idea is that in time a completely free and independent Negro Republic would be formed in North Africa – but of course at first everything would depend on the United States government. Every one who goes would go voluntarily, so the government would be under compulsion to keep conditions there pretty good – in order to keep up the flow of immigrants. The first to go would normally be the unemployed from our big cities. Trade schools

could be established over there to teach needed new skills. Delegations to Israel could learn from them about reclaiming and irrigating desert land. In time - places like Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands should be independent of the U.S.A. and Federated with the new Negro republic in North africa.

The British Labour Party has a "shadow cabinet" ready for office in case the party comes back to power. So I hope to see "socialistically inclined" leaders of the colored people in this country form a sort of "shadow government" in an advisory capacity. They would gain experience and be able to work out a practical plan for a later real government. All leaders should insist that American capital not be allowed to gain a stranglehold on the economy. All oil wells, mines etc could be developed by an agency of the U.S. government and held in trust until a new government is ready to take them over. (It might be agreed in the beginning by an "International Sahara development authority" that all net proceeds from oil wells - mines etc should go into a fund for the larger reclamation projects.

As disarmament progresses, the smaller ships in the U.S. Navy could be stripped of armor and guns and given to the new Republic to promote African trade.

Britain, France and the United States have some problems in common. Here Puerto Ricans are by law American citizens and can not be kept out of the country. Over a half million of them have flooded into New York City, where they are crowded into slums, and in a time of depression, New York will not know what to do with them. I have not forgotten that in the great depression almost all Harlem was on relief. In Britain, colored citizens of the British West Indies - Jamaica - The Bahama Islands etc are British citizens and they come flooding into England looking for job security. Britain no longer controls a large share of the worlds resources and markets; in a period of shrinking markets how can she give these people jobs - or indeed her own people?

France has large numbers of Algerians there - driven out of Algeria by the spreading desert - and by the hunger, destitution and

42-5B-67

joblessness there, augmented by a very high birth rate. These people are French citizens - but are not treated as Frenchmen. I understand that the real reason the French communist party has never been able to mobilize sentiment of the French working class against the horrible Algerian war, is because of the bitter race prejudice in France itself against the algerians living there. This bitterness will intensify too as unemployment intensifies.

Another point might be mentioned. Scientists goin in saying that the Polar ice caps are melting and this raises the level of the oceans which tend to encroach more and more upon the land. Some say that the ocean will rise so much that it will swamp our coastal cities. Letting sea water into these inland deserts will helps some at least. Effing alone is almost twice as large as Lake Superior and no one can compute the amount of water that it will hold as of course much of the water will sink right down into the desert sand. The Caspian sea is over four times as large as Lake Superior and is about 85 or 90 feet below sea level. As you probably know - the Russians are digging a canal that will join the Black Sea to the Caspian sea. All this turning of ocean water into Lower areas should helps.

42-573-68

The pressure of population is building up everywhere and the only way to relieve it is to open up large new areas for settlement. Shortly after the War a writer in Collier's magazine suggested that Western Europe take over and develop the great plateau on the Island of Sumatra as a way to relieve the over-population in Europe. The trouble with that suggestion is that most of Asia and Java too are already overpopulated and need their own land. The Sahara region is a vast area - greater than that of continental United States - and its estimated population is only about 4 or 5 million people! Modern Scientific knowledge opens up great possibilities for this area. Why hesitate?

I believe that I suggested before that the United States, Britain, France, and perhaps other West European countries, should join in forming a "Sahara Development Authority". Each country could take over an area to develop - on condition that each country does everything possible to rescue from the desert the land they take over; and on the further condition that no country have any arms or any military bases in the area - + that there be no tariff barriers. Any country with land bordering on one of the inland lakes would have free transit to the ocean - subject perhaps to a small use tax to be used for the upkeep of the canals. The native countries - Morocco - Algeria, Libya, Tunisia would have their own free and independent areas and in return for giving up claim to large desert areas - they should receive funds and technical assistance for developing their own lands.

42-513-69

Perhaps the most difficult problem would be France, which would be required to give up claim to a vast desert empire. The question is - which would be better for France - to have complete + undisputed rule over a segment (perhaps 2 or 3 segments inhabited by Frenchmen) of a prosperous and well populated Sahara Region — or to be master of a vast desert area and have to fight endlessly to hold her mastery. ??

The economic importance of these inland seas — (now naught but desert waste, from which blows desert sand to be a scourge to others all around) would be very great. Seaweed, similar to what grows in the Saragassa sea could be propogated there, and used for livestock feed or to give humus to the soil. Different countries could fence off areas of the seas if they wished, where they could raise + feed quantities of fish. Israel has successfully raised fish in salt water ponds and China has for centuries raised + fed fish in fresh water ponds. Every year huge quantities of fish residue is wasted where fish are canned or frozen. Fish head, scales + refuse could be ground + canned +

used for fish food. Fish that thrive in the Caribbean should thrive here; the latitude is about the same.

I could write more about an area where I have only limited theoretical knowledge. It needs someone with a detailed knowledge of the area to make detailed plans. Where is Walter Lowdermilk? Do you know?

Now we come to the question - "Who is going to do this wonderful thing"??

42-573-70

The only country in the West where a socialist party is likely to come to power in the near future is Britain. New Elections have to be held by May 1960 and probably will be held sooner. The Left-Wing of the British Labour Party - led by men like Aneurin Bevan and Konni Zilliacus is pretty good and they would not be afraid of the socialist implications of this plan. From this distance I cannot keep much track of the British economy but it is always said that when this country catches a cold, Britain has pneumonia. So I assume that unemployment in Britain will become acute too. A proposal like this should seem like salvation to a left-wing Labour party. The ending of the arms race and the use of the tremendous sums now spent on armaments for a productive purpose would almost be like entering a new world.

I wrote Aneurin Bevan about this plan several years ago but never got a rise out of him. No doubt the plan seemed utopian and unimportant at the time. Now, with a rising economic crisis in Britain, the plan should seem interesting & important enough to study.

It should take a lot of studying before this plan is either accepted or rejected.

Dr. DuBois, please think this over. Will you write Aneurin Bevan jointly with me? Do you believe you could get together a group of negro leaders who would support this plan in case Aneurin Bevan came out with this or a similar proposal? Peace groups would of course immediately support the idea.

The Western World is coming to a cross-roads. Neither this nation nor any nation could spend huge sums on armaments and at the same time devote huge amounts of time and money to a great reclamation project. It has to be the one thing or the other. I believe that the salvation of the world may well lie with the choice of this other plan.

42-5B-71

Sincerely yours-
Mrs. Marion Robbins Thompson
Stanton, Minn
(Mrs. John M. Thompson)

P.S. May I offer congratulations on your 90th birthday. My great-grandfather had a brother who lived to be over 100 years old - before penicillin! So perhaps you have years ahead of you!

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
31 Grace Court, Bkly.

Stanton, Minnesota
March 24- 1958

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Words can not express my disappointment on receiving your answer to my letter of Feb. 13.

Quite naturally you reacted on the basis of a deep emotional involvement on the color issue. But this is not primarily a question of color; it is a question of war or peace.

I wonder if you took the time to read my entire letter? I can hardly blame you as reading my penmanship must be difficult. But please consider this more carefully. It is extremely important.

42-53-49

You wrote, "Why add to the problems of the Tunisians, Algerians and Sudanese"? This is a complete Misapprehension! Instead of adding to their problems, my plan would do much to solve their chief problem. Even if France withdrew from Africa entirely - now - the Moroccans, Tunisians & Algerians would still be left with their greatest problem: the desert. None of these North African people have the capital, the machinery or the technical skill to flood these below-sea-level areas, reclaim the land from the desert. Nor would they be able to do so in the forseeable future.

The great "sink of the desert" "El Juf" alone is almost twice as large as Lake Superior. In other words it is about the size of two Irelands and as it is now the hot desert winds blow the silty sands of this great desert area all across N. Africa and damage crops - sometimes as far north as some valleys in Austria and Yugoslavia. This vast area was once an arm of the sea, and a canal from the Atlantic could be dug

to make it again an arm of the sea. This great sea could be made a valuable reservoir, filled with fish and seaweed and the damp winds blowing off from it would bring good wherever they reach.

The great Tunisian salt flats could similarly be flooded by a canal from the Mediterranean as proposed by the French Engineer Rondaire some 75 years or more ago. This great area may be even larger than "El Juf". Early Engineers suspected that the two areas might run together. The evaporation from these huge water areas within the Sahara would be a tremendous amount. There are mountains in the Central Sahara which would certainly precipitate at least some of this moisture. Let me remind you that it is more or less a desert area from the Atlantic coast of N. Africa to Pakistan - so wherever the moisture comes down it would be a blessing.

42-53-50

Population growth everywhere today is very large. In Egypt it is estimated that the population will double within 30 years. Throughout N. Africa - given a fair amount of disease control - population growth is about that rapid.

Where is the food for all these people to come from? I submit that the only practical and hopeful procedure is to have these below-sea-level areas flooded and the blowing of desert sand stopped - at least in part.

Who is to do this great job? To flood these areas, break up the hard crust on the soil so winter rains would soak in, build dams, bridges and roads and homes and schools and cement plants and shops etc - would be very expensive.

It would require some country with wealth, great skill and drive as well as powerful motivation for doing it. It might be that with a little encouragement West Germany might try it! She has the skill and drive and working ability to do it -- but think how the Germans would treat the colored people of Africa if they came in!!

On the other hand my plan would bring in people of the Negro race who would be accepted as brothers -- but brothers with more education and a greater variety of skills than ever known here before. Even the language would be the same, because wherever the neighboring peoples of Ghana and Nigeria speak any language other than the native dialects -- that language is English.

42-573-51

The Negro people here are U.S. citizens of course - and cannot be told to go anywhere except of their own free will. That would give you a hold on the American government; they would have to keep conditions of life and employment in the Negro state at a fairly high level - else the negro would decline to go.

This plan would also solve the American farm surplus problem since, during the early and formative years of the new Negro republic - food would have to be shipped over for people to live on. Gradually land would be made fertile and brought under cultivation; a fringe of coconut palms - which do not mind having their roots in saline soil -- could be planted around the new salt water sea. Date groves and banana plantations could be started in favored locations. All this would take time, and in the meantime the American farmer would have to feed the population of the State.

Negro youth in our over-crowded cities have little opportunity for normal growth, either physically or morally. The problem of delinquency in city schools is largely caused by idleness; - the lack of anything to do that has meaning or purpose. In a new pioneer state there would be so much to do! Land to plot & measure - soils to test, experimental plots of various crops to plant and watch; trees to plant on hills or stony soil not suited for regular crops. Careful plans would be made to save & conserve water in every possible way. The farmers in Israel claim they can make water go twice as far in irrigation as farmers do in Egypt. Somewhere, preferably on high ground or mountain foothills - a capital city with a big university and hospital - & some light industry could be built. At a fairly high altitude the climate would be mild and springlike - as it is in Mexico City.

42-513-52

I think the U.S. government might be willing to promise that the first electric-generating plant we build using hydrogen fusion and operating on sea-water would be built in the new African state! (Power companies in that country are not anxious to see cheap electricity produced here)

Dr. DuBois, I had counted on you as a dedicated socialist. I thought that you would be intrigued by the idea of this capitalist government establishing and supporting a socialist State in Africa - in spite of its hatred of all things socialistic! For that is what it would amount to - a socialist state.

I would suggest that Negroes form a "shadow" or advisory government - with no real power at first, but one that could - when the country is well-developed - become the government of an independent state. Negroes would be in a position

to demand that all dams, railroads, electric plants, mineral resources etc. would be the property of the new State. You could demand long term, low-interest loans to develop mines or build industrial plants as needed. Anti-negro prejudice in this country would only make your position stronger. In this way you could insure that the new State would never become an economic colony of the U.S.A.

Unemployment is rising in this country and nothing much is being done about it. I.B.M. has a big new plant near Rochester, Minn. that will soon be turning out electronic calculators + business machines in quantity + these machines are expected to displace thousands of office workers. Automatic machines - directed by a ribbon of tape - are appearing in our factories in ever-increasing numbers. Any good Marxist theoretician would say that Socialism is the only answer to these problems. However the American people are not theoreticians and their ignorance of Socialism is abysmal - as is their prejudice against it! However the situation in England - home of "Fabian Socialism" and the Socialist Labour Party should be considerably better.

42-5B-53

Henry Wallace writes in an article in the April "Successful Farming" " In my opinion the only way a world-wide economic collapse can be prevented is by the United States ---- to engage in a really comprehensive, well-thought-out program to help the have-not nations to help themselves". In my opinion, politicians, farmers and labor - unemployed or fearful of un-employment in this country are too harried by their own problems to really consider any "well-thought-out" program for others. "Economic collapse"? Then what? Too many leftish thinkers

are likely to feel "Oh well - then comes a revolution toward the left - something more like socialism". This is not true! A revolution in blind despair is as likely to be toward the Right as toward the Left. Competent observers say that France is in no danger of going to the extreme Left - but there is a danger that France may move to the extreme Right - and become a sort of Fascist state. Everything possible should be done to see that reason prevails + violence is avoided. I am convinced that my plan is a completely reasonable one and would work out for good - even though the motivation back of it for many would be an unworthy evlan prejudice.

42-5B-54

Furthermore, I believe it is of supreme importance for world peace that the left wing of the British Labour Party should win the next election. Bevan has been holding back - cautiously - for fear of splitting the Labour Party just when it might win an election victory. I believe that my idea would help Bevan with a definite anti-colonial and pro-peace, pro-disarmament plan.

Harrison Brown made a wonderful speech at the University of Minnesota a few weeks ago. I. F. Stone quoted a little of it in his "Weekly". Brown said that as atomic weapons are shared by more nations the danger of war - through some fantastic error or by the action of some madman - becomes ever greater. He said we must come to some agreement and end the arms race within ten years or the human race would be destroyed. He described himself as a pessimist - but a pessimist with hope.

I believe that the reason more working people have not supported negotiated disarmament is that they realize quite well that the armaments race furnishes millions of jobs. It was even stated officially that our foreign aid program was giving employment to some 600,000 people. Our own arms build-up and

men in military service gave employment to millions more.

Our people - desperate for jobs - cannot support disarmament until they can see clearly some other way to get rid of unemployment. My plan provides such an alternative way; a way where millions could be doing things constructive and useful and building international peace at the same time! The choice is clear + simple. Either the arms race and death - or reclamation, constructive work and peace.

I wish you would consult others about this. A long time ago I wrote Dr. Stringfellow Barr - Dr. Paul Sweezy about this. Show them my other letter + this one and consider carefully. Consult anyone else you wish - I suggest people like Harvey O'Conner - Corliss Lamont - Feike Farmer. I also long ago wrote a British Quaker - leader of a delegation to Russia - I believe his name was Hugh Bailey. He seemed favorably impressed. Talk with Dr. Walter Lowdermilk about just what sector of N. Africa would be most suitable and available. Perhaps it would be best if a small delegation went to see Aneurin Bevan about this.

42-5B-55

This is not just some crack-pot idea. It is a very serious plan + I believe + sound economic one.

I enclose a copy of a letter I wrote Dr. Rhine of Duke University a long time ago. It may seem strange but it is true. Believe me - it is true and Dr. Rhine will so certify. You see this is why I cannot give up - and why I am so certain that it will work out for good in the long run. Best wishes

Mrs. J. M. Thompson.

I sometimes sign my name in full thus.

Mrs. Marion Robbins Thompson M.A.

telephone is 750L Northfield, Minn.

Copy of a letter mailed Jan 2 - 1947

Mr. J. B. Rhine - Ph.D.
Prof of Psychology - Duke University, Durham N.C.

Sir: I read your article in the November issue of the American Magazine. I wish to say that I admire the scientific spirit with which you approach your subject.

I have an unusual experience which I would like you to file away among your documents. I have never spoken of this to anyone - not even to my husband or children. I am acutely aware of the fact that if any one else were to tell me of such an experience, I would consider it absurd and fantastic. In fact it even seems fantastic to me now, as I sit here and write in this quiet room more than four years later.

42-5B-56

Perhaps I should say that I am a farm woman and, although it is true that I hold a Master of Arts degree, there is nothing extra-ordinary about me. I am not superstitious as a believer in "cults". Since my college days I have been an admirer of William James and used to fancy myself what he called "tough-minded".

At any rate - here is what happened. It was in the fall of 1942: I remember it was during the battle of Stalingrad, I was behind with my work because I had been spending so much time following the war news with intense interest and anxiety.

One night I went upstairs to bed rather early and, as I undressed an unusual feeling of deep depression came over me. I thought to myself. "Why can't you forget it all and just attend to your own work as other women do. One of these days you will die and be buried in the little cemetery here, and no one will know or care whether you know anything about world problems or not."

Suddenly the room seemed to turn dark around me and I dropped down upon the bed, too weak to stand. There was a feeling of pressure inside my head, as if my brain were held in a tight grip, and a feeling as of a great, slow wheeling motion. Suddenly a voice seemed to say to me — "But you are going to be famous — all over the world". There was no illusion of a voice speaking aloud; the voice was within me - like the voice of thought, but it was definitely no thought of mine.

42-SB-57

My normal mind was astonished and through my mind flashed the idea, 'how could I become famous - unless possibly by assassinating some important person. Fearfully my mind answered back to the strange force or whatever it was that seemed to wheel relentlessly on. "For pity's sake, stop it - stop it. If I am going to kill someone or something - please don't let me know about it beforehand"!

Then suddenly the fear was gone; I felt in some way as if someone were gently laughing at me, — and then behind my closed eyelids I seemed to see a glimpse of vast far, far distances, with such a bright and pleasant light shining over them. I believe at the time I felt that it was something reaching far, far into the future. Vast spaces - vast time. A long moment of that, and then the pressure was removed from my brain, the slow wheeling motion stopped and everything was normal again in my dimly-lit bedroom.

I know that this must sound fantastic to you, but I can can only solemnly affirm that it happened just so. I did not faint; I had not been asleep. It came with a complete sense of certainty - like a statement of assured fact.

This happened more than four years ago and I am no more famous today than I was then. For a very long time I had not the slightest idea what I was to do that would make me famous. In the summer of 1945 I thought of something & took some action - that may possibly eventuate in something of world-wide importance. If so, there has been no indication of it up to the present time.

However fantastic this may sound to you, I believe it is quite in the spirit of William James that a record of this experience should be made. All that I ask of you is that you carefully certify on this letter the date it is received and file it away in your most confidential files. Just in case I should suddenly become famous, you are to remember that this is a strictly confidential matter, which you are pledged not to reveal.

42-58-58

No one could be more critical than I am of cultists, religionists & pretended seers and prophets who try to gain fame and money by their claims to occult powers. I think the great hope of the future lies with science and the scientific spirit - properly controlled by people of common sense and good will.

To my mind this does not at all conflict with my belief that there is a Power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness. Perhaps this power can, on occasion, use quite ordinary people to achieve great ends.

If I should become famous, you are hereby directed to publish this letter immediately after my death. I desire it to stand as evidence that there are more things in Heaven & Earth than are dreamed of in the philosophy of the materialists.

Please file this away carefully - & await the event - whatever it may be.

(over)

signed - Sincerely yours,

Mamie Robbins Thompson

(Note: I have since written Dr. Rhine and told him to make this letter public immediately - in case I become famous. He said he would)

In an article in Look Magazine some time ago Bertrand Russell was asked - "What kind of evidence could convince you that God exists"?

Answer: "I think if I heard a voice from the Sky predicting all that was going to happen to me during the next twenty-four hours, including events that would have seemed highly improbable, & if all these events then proceeded to happen, I might perhaps be convinced at least of the existence of some super-human intelligence."

Surely nothing could be more "highly improbable" than that an obscure unknown person like me should become world famous. But just this was predicted years ago & it could logically happen!

Would not this convince Bertrand Russell - even.

June 4, 1958

43-49-4

Professor George A. Townes
near Morriss Brown College
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Professor Townes:

Through a letter from Virginia Banks of Texas, I year of your being honored by the Edgar N. Webster College in Atlanta with Louis Shivery on the program.

I am glad to hear that you are still about, and write to send greetings from myself and my wife, Thirley Graham, to you and your family. I met Grace for a short minute a month or two ago, at the funeral of Mrs. Alexander. I am sure she has told you.

I have been going through the throes of a birthday celebration in New York, in California, in Chicago, and finally at Fisk. There, I celebrated the 70th Anniversary of my graduation in '88. I was duly cited, had a Lectureship founded in my honor, and inducted into the Phi Beta Kappa. This fulfilled a youthful ambition. You will remember that since I entered Harvard as a Jr., I had no chance to be considered for the Phi Beta Kappa, but Fisk got a Chapter in 1953 and made me the Chief Honorary Member.

I am in pretty good health, and I hope that you are. Write me and tell me the news.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:RR

Towns

43-54-67

5 & 4 University Place,
Atlanta 14, Ga.,
June 20, 1958.

My dear Dr. DuBois,

Your letter of June 4 was a happy surprise. My wife and I were glad to get a report on your good health, your activities, and the honors that have come to you recently. You richly deserve all the good things that have come to you and much more besides. My wife joins me in sending congratulations and good wishes.

We are well and busy — my wife with the Gate City Free Kindergarten Association, the Missionary Society of which (each) she is treasurer and with

the Y. W. C. A. My chief activity is in gardening, teaching a Sunday School class of men and reading. My poor hearing and poor sight prevent my doing what I formerly did in trying to help in public affairs.

As news I mention, first of all, the amazing and rapid changes in the physical aspects of Atlanta as you knew it. The city has spread its limits for miles in all directions and going west towards the river the beautiful homes built by Negroes surpass any such development that I have seen in any part of the country — all modern houses too.

I dare not undertake to recite all the news in

~~in~~ "pure and unadulterated cussedness", so that I shall inclose a few clippings that contain "some of each" to use a familiar A.U. phrase.

I take comfort in the courageous stand taken by ~~a~~ few men like Ralph McGill, Mayor Hartsfield and a few others. The increasing interest shown by Negroes in registration and voting is inducing men to come out in opposition to such bigots as our present Governor and our U.S. senator Talmadge.

My wife joins me in sending good wishes to Mrs. DuBois as well as to you.

Always sincerely Yours,

George A. Towns

28-45-24

[Trinidad, British West Indies]

THE CHIEF MINISTER'S OFFICE,

No. .....
In replying, the above number and date of this letter should be quoted.

TRINIDAD, BRITISH WEST INDIES,

6th June, 1958.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

42-58-157

Dr. Williams, the Chief Minister, has asked me to write to you in connection with the following matter. But first of all he wishes me to say how sorry he was that he did not meet you during your recent visit to Trinidad. After receiving your note of the 3rd May, he tried to contact you at the hotel, but unfortunately you had already left.

When it was known that yourself and your wife were likely to be visiting Trinidad around the 15th April for the inauguration of the Federal Parliament, Senator T. A. Marryshow of Grenada wrote to Dr. Williams asking him to book hotel accommodation for you both as well as to obtain admission tickets for the inauguration ceremony.

As you can imagine hotel accommodation was at that time extremely difficult to obtain, but after various efforts by this office a reservation was obtained for you and Mrs. Du Bois through a firm by the name of "Accommodation and Services." When however, you did not arrive on the 15th April, enquiry was made of Mr. Marryshow about your movements, and with the expectation that you would be arriving at any time, and the knowledge that if the booking made for you had been cancelled, no other accommodation would be available when you did arrive, the booking was extended from day to day.

As a result the firm has submitted the attached bill for hotel accommodation for yourself and Mrs. Du Bois amounting to $288.00 (B.W.I.) for the period 15-23rd May. While this charge is excessive, and the hotel has "lost" only the profit it would have otherwise made if the accommodation had been taken up, I am satisfied after discussion with the Management that they were in fact put to much inconvenience and loss of business in having to keep these rooms reserved. The Management is not therefore prepared to withdraw its claim. At the same time they may be prepared to accept a smaller amount in settlement.

I very much regret that our action in trying to be of assistance should have lead to this embarrassing situation. Nevertheless I wonder whether you would be prepared to make a payment of, say, $50.00 U.S., which would be paid to Accommodation and Services in full settlement for which a receipt would be sent to you. I have no guarantee that they would accept this amount,

/but it

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn I, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

42-54-152

but it is a figure which would seem not unreasonable in the circumstances, and one which I would hope to be able to prevail on the management to accept. Would you please be good enough to let me know your reactions.

At Dr. Williams' suggestion, I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Marryshow in Grenada.

With my apologies for having to trouble you in this matter,

I am,

Yours faithfully,

Gordon Mancini

GORDON MANCINI

Permanent Secretary to the Chief Minister.

/pb

[Enc.]

ACCOMMODATION & SERVICES CO.

2/4, ST. VINCENT STREET,
PORT-OF-SPAIN,
TRINIDAD, B.W.I.

CABLE ADDRESS:
"AANESCO"
PORT-OF-SPAIN

TELEPHONE:
8072
P.O. BOX 886

42-54-153

26th, April 1958.

The Chief Minister's Office,
Government Building,
Knox Street,
P.O.S.

ATTENTION MR. LEACOCK.

To accommodation booked for Dr & Mrs Doubois

at #39 Boissiere from 15-4-58 to 23-4-58 @ $18.00 pr day

each person $ 288.00

Total $ 288.00

L. H. FOSTER, PRESIDENT

H. K. LOGAN, BUSINESS MANAGER

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Tuskegee Institute

FOUNDED BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, 1881

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

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ALABAMA

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PRESIDENT EMERITUS

May 16, 1958

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
In care of Mr. T. K. Gibson, Sr.
3501 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On behalf of Tuskegee Institute, I extend congratulations and best wishes on your ninetieth birthday. We are pleased to join a host of Americans in paying tribute to your fruitful career.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF:1

27-294-81

(COPY FOR PERSONAL DELIVERY)

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
Shirley Graham
Thirty-one Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

March 6, 1958

To His Excellency Mikhail A. Menshikov
Ambassador of the U.S.S.R.
1125 Sixteenth Street
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

On my ninetieth birthday, February 23, 1958, I received the enclosed cablegram from the Soviet Union:

February 22, 1958
Moscow

Members Social Sciences Section of the Union Soviet Societies Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Research Workers of History Institute USSR Academy of Sciences, Representatives Moscow Public gathered today in Moscow House of Scientiest to celebrate your glorious anniversary. Highly appraising your great contribution to social science and peoples' struggle for national justice and peace among nations, we warmly congratulate you on occasion of your birthday and cordially wish health, long life, continuous success in your struggle for happiness of American people and progress of mankind.

Alexander Gouber, Chairman of Meeting,
President National Committee Soviet
Historians.

Since I do not have the exact addresses of the persons and organizations which took part in this tribute, I am venturing to trouble you to convey to them at your convenience the assurances of my deep appreciation of the honor which they paid me, and of my desire to serve still further so long as I live for peace and justice among mankind.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

W.E.B. Du Bois

WEBD/el

[U.S.S.R., Embassy of]

W. E. B. Du BOIS
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

March 6, 1958

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Ambassador of the U.S.S.R.
1125 Sixteenth street
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Alexander Gouber, Chairman of Meeting,
President National Committee Soviet
Historians.

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I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

[United Air Lines]

42/3/146

April 24, 1948

Mr. Wm. A. Gorger
Supervisor Ticket Sales United Air Lines
San Francisco 2, Cal.

Dear Sir:

According to the enclosed card, you owe me $3.00 refund. I cannot send the coupons since they are needed for income tax returns. Their numbers are:

162 2 832976
163 1 360279
162 2 832977
163 1 360280

Very truly yours,

WEBDB:RM
Enc.

(UNITED INDEPENDENT SOCIALISTS)

8/50/74

February 4, 1958

On January 31st a meeting was held pursuant to our invitation of January 17th, to discuss the role of the American left in the 1958 elections.

Present were the signers of this letter, Murray Weiss (representing Joyce Cowley), Farrell Dobbs, Simon W. Gerson, Babette Jones, Corliss Lamont, John T. McManus and Michael Zaslow. Others indicated their interest by mail, but could not attend.

It was agreed that we should consider a united Socialist candidate or candidates, but that this should be left in abeyance until we had another meeting to discuss program.

You are cordially invited to attend a meeting on Friday, February 14th at 8 P.M. at the home of Henry Abrams, 285 West End Ave. We hope you can attend.

Sincerely,

Henry H. Abrams

Morris Goldin

James Aronson
Bert Cochran
Joyce Cowley
Benjamin J. Davis
Farrell Dobbs
Dr.W.E.B.DuBois
Royal W. France
Simon W. Gerson
George Goldman
Steve Grattan
Leo Huberman
Babette Jones
Corliss Lamont
Muriel McAvoy
John Lewine
Conrad Lynn
John T. McManus
Otto Nathan
Russ Nixon
Thelma Perkins
Paul Robeson
Charles Rothenberg
Annette Rubinstein
Arthur Schutzer
Joe Selly
Herbert Shingler
Paul Sweezey
Joseph Starobin
Milton Zaslow

[United Independent Socialists]
[1958]

4/29/74

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is the final proposed form of a covering letter and draft Call for placing an Independent-Socialist ticket in the field in New York State in the November elections.

The covering letter will be sent to individuals throughout the entire state whose concurrance in sponsorship, in addition to those named below who have in principle agreed, will help bring about broad and inclusive participation in the Conference and in the ensuing campaign for nominating signatures and votes in the election.

Please make your final comments by return mail so that the draft Call and covering letter may be sent to the letter-shop in a form reflecting all "must" revisions from the initiating signers.

Also your help is needed to defray costs of printing and posting the initial mailing. All receiving this mailing will be invited to contribute toward the cost of staging the Conference and bringing it to the widest possible attention throughout the State.

Please include any suggestions of names or lists to whom you think the initial mailing or subsequent mailings might profitably be sent.

Fraternally,

Henry Abrams
HENRY ABRAMS

Morris Goldin
MORRIS GOLDIN

Copies to:

Henry Abrams
James Aronson
George Clarke
Joyce Cowley
Benjamin J. D avis
Richard De Haan
Farrell Dobbs
W. E. B. Dubois
Royal Wilbur France
Simon W. Gerson
Morris Goldin
George Goldman
Steve Grattan
Babette Jones
Tom Kerry
Corliss Lamont
Muriel McAvoy
John T. McManus
Otto Nathan
Russ Nixon
Annette Rubenstein
Howard S elsam
Otto Skattedal
George Stryker
Murray Weiss
Milton Zaslow

[Enc.]

42/59/14

Dear friend:

During the first few months of this year a group of individuals including independents and leaders and members of various organized socialist groups have been meeting to discuss the possibilities of effective independent-socialist electoral participation in the 1958 elections in New York State.

The result has been the enclosed draft of a Call to a Conference this spring to undertake to put on the ballot in November independent Socialist candidates for the four top State offices and U.S. Senator.

We are sending you the proposed Call in the hope that you will endorse its main purpose and join with the undersigned in sponsoring the Conference.

A united Independent-Socialist ticket in New York State can provide the long-needed impetus for a revival and reinvigoration of independent political action not only in our state but elsewhere throughout the country. We believe that thousands of people in our state would rally to the support of such a campaign. We believe that this effort is necessary this year to introduce vital issues and prospects which will otherwise be absent from the political argument in the forthcoming elections. Further, if sufficient support can be won at the ballot-box, an independent political medium of great, new significance can be given ballot status in our state for future elections.

It is proposed that a platform be built on the principle of minimum agreement among the various groups and tendencies participating in the conference and it is to be hoped that the candidacies designated by such a conference would represent clearly the main independent-socialist currents in our state who are devoted to peace with the socialist world and consideration of socialist solutions for the ills produced by our country's social and economic system.

If you agree with the purposes of the proposed Conference we urge, in addition to your own concurrence in sponsorship, that you spread the message of the Conference to all your friends in labor, farm and minority organizations, in the peace movement, among socialists of any and all persuasions and generally to the progressive community of your locality.

Please use the enclosed reply envelope and form for your signature and comment. And please let us hear from you soon. There remains little time to organize the Conference and complete its work so that a statewide petition campaign can be conducted to insure its candidates a place on the ballot for the campaign.

Reply form should include request for funds to help publicize and conduct the Conference.

[Enc.]

42/59/75

Call for an Independent-Socialist Election Conference in New York State

In deep concern for the well-being of all the people of our country and for the peace of the world, the undersigned citizens herewith issue a Call to conscientious people of our State to a Conference for the purpose of challenging the monopoly-dominated political machines of our State and Nation at the polls in the 1958 elections.

Alike, the monopoly-dominated political machines of our country are committed to brink-of-war policies which cannot fail to involve the world in catastrophic conflict unless reversed; and they have persisted in the testing of weapons of mass annihilation which even now are destroying lives and sapping the health of present and future generations through radioactive nuclear fallout.

Alike, they are committed to an economic system which at least once before in most of our memories has brought the nation to its knees in Depression for the profit of the few; which in this year has once again brought our country to the brink of a new economic collapse, after boom years of the most voracious profit-taking in the history of the world.

Alike, they have sought to crush labor, the family farmer and the small business man. They have driven the scientist from the laboratory of peace. They have impoverished and corrupted our educational system, driving fine teachers from the classroom and others into the refuge of conformity with the drive for profit and war.

They have condoned and fostered race hatred, denied the birthright of freedom of millions of Americans; and terrorized millions more of foreign birth and their families through a restoration in our time of the iniquitous Alien and Sedition Laws which Thomas Jefferson and his followers fought to destroy in the founding years of our republic.

They have sentenced present generations of our young manhood to universal military service, bringing loneliness, uncertainty and despair to all our youth and cruelly frustrating the normal, healthy development of family life.

42/59/76

By their example in public life and in preparation for war, and by neglect of all humane endeavor, they have bred hopelessness and cynicism throughout the land which expresses itself most grievously in juvenile delinquency and widespread crime.

They have burdened the working people of our country with an unprecedented and unrelieved tax burden; they have destroyed the hard-earned savings of the people through unbridled inflation; they have enabled and encouraged the most flagrant profit-feeding of big business by government in all our history.

And they have sought to suppress all political opposition and to render as seditious in the public mind and indeed in the laws of the nation, all seeking a better way of life, all striving for peace, all effort for a world of brotherhood and equality among men and nations.

In a world in which a socialist order, the alternative to capitalist anarchy, is being built by a billion people in other lands, American capitlism is disclosing its incapacity to utilize the gigantic productive capacity, natural resources and skilled labor of our country to provide a future of economic security, peace and freedom for the people.

The people of our country are beginning to search for pathways to a better future. They have rallied in increasing numbers against repression. They have begun to roll back the evil known as McCarthyism and have scored signal victories in the courts for civil liberty. The Negro people have embarked on a great effort for full equality. Citizens of all welks of life have joined in protest against the development and testing of atomic weaspons. Throughout the house of labor is heard the repeated demand for an independent political course. The forces for social change in our country are seeking a common meeting ground to present to the people of our country alternatives to a course of greed, brutalization and repression.

The undersigned are determined that these alternatives must be placed on the ballot this year represented by candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, attorney-general and controller in our State and by a candidate for United States Senator from

New York. Further, we believe that such an initiative on our part can and will encourage similar action by like-minded citizens of other states in this year's elections.

Therefore we call upon all independent, progressive and socialist-minded forces in our State to attend a Conference in New York City on the days of for the purpose of adopting a platform and designating candidates for the above-named offices in the 1958 elections.

We request that the undersigned be authorized to prepare a draft platform, undertake a canvass for potential candidates and mobilize forces to place the designated candidates on the ballot by petition at the conclusion of the Conference.

We further request that proposals for candidacies and platform planks be submitted by those concurring in this endeavor.

11/19/24

UNITED
INDEPENDENT-SOCIALIST
CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

Partial list of sponsors:

Henry Abrams
Allan J. Aronson
Mary L. Barrett
George Cook
Joyce Cowley
Bert Deck
Richard De Haan
W. E. B. DuBois
Mina Eskenazi
E. William Flanagan
Sidney J. Gluck
Steve Grattan
Stewart Q. Hyatt
David Jaffe
Babette Jones
Rockwell Kent
Elinor Ferry Kirstein
Corliss Lamont
Muriel McAvoy
John T. McManus
Frankie Merson
Hugh N. Mulzac
Otto Nathan
Russ Nixon
Ralph Powe
Lillian Reiner
Harry Ring
Annette Rubinstein
Howard Selsam
Otto Skottedal
George Stryker
Louis Wheaton

at the

GREAT NORTHERN HOTEL
118 W. 57th Street
New York 19, N.Y.

on

Friday, Saturday, Sunday,
June 13, 14, 15 – 1958

Friday – 2:30 to 8 PM – Registration of delegates.

Friday – 2:30 to 6 PM – Platform Committee Hearings

SESSIONS

Friday – 8 to 10:30 PM

Saturday – 10 AM to 1 PM; 2 to 5 PM

Sunday: 10 AM to 1 PM; 2 to 4 PM

REGISTRATION FEE: $1.00

REGISTRATION FORM

TO CONFERENCE COMMITTEE:

☐ Please register me as a delegate. Enclosed is $1.00 registration fee.

☐ I am contributing _____dollars to the success of the conference.

☐ I am willing to campaign actively for a UNITED-INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST TICKET.

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone No. _____

Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St., New York City

A reply form appears on back panel, Please return immediately to help insure the success of the conference.

NEW YORK STATE 1958

in

ELECTORAL TICKET

INDEPENDENT-SOCIALIST

UNITED

for a

CONFERENCE

to a

CALL

42|5a|83

CALL FOR A UNITED INDEPENDENT - SOCIALIST

In deep concern for the well-being of all the people of our country and for the peace of the world, the undersigned citizens herewith issue a Call to conscientious people of our State to a Conference for the purpose of challenging the political machines of our State and Nation at the polls in the 1958 elections.

Alike, the political machines of our country are committed to brink-of-war policies which cannot fail to involve the world in catastrophic conflict unless reversed; and they have persisted in the testing of weapons of mass annihilation which even now are destroying lives and sapping the health of present and future generations through radioactive nuclear fallout.

Alike, they are committed to an economic system which at least once before in most of our memories has brought the nation to its knees in Depression for the profit of the few; which in this year has once again brought our country to the brink of a new economic collapse, after boom years of the most voracious profit-taking in the history of the world.

Alike, they have sought to crush labor, the family farmer and the small business man. They have driven the scientist from the laboratory of peace. They have impoverished and corrupted our educational system, driving fine teachers from the classroom and others into the refuge of conformity.

They condone and foster race hatred, deny the American birthright of freedom and threaten millions of foreign birth and their families through repressive statutes which are a restoration in our time of the iniquitous Alien and Sedition Laws which Thomas Jefferson and his followers fought to destroy in the founding years of our republic.

They have sentenced present generations of our young manhood to universal military service, bringing uncertainty and despair to our youth and frustrating the normal, healthy development of family life.

By their example in public life and in preparation for war, by training for violence and by neglect of humane endeavor, they have bred hopelessness and cynicism throughout the land which expresses itself most grievously in juvenile delinquency and widespread crime.

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They have sought to suppress all political opposition and to render as seditious in the public mind and indeed in the laws of the nation, the search for peace and a better way of life, and for a world of brotherhood and equality among men and nations.

In a world in which a billion people are engaged in building a socialist order as an alternative to capitalist anarchy, American capitalism is disclosing its inability to utilize the gigantic productive capacity, natural resources and skilled labor of our country to provide a future of economic security, peace and freedom for the people.

The people of our country are beginning to search for pathways to a better future. They have rallied in increasing numbers against repression. They have begun to roll back the evil known as McCarthyism and have scored signal victories in

the courts for civil liberty. The Negro people have embarked on a great effort for full equality. Citizens of all walks of life have joined in protest against the development and testing of nuclear weapons. Throughout the house of labor is heard the repeated demand for an independent political course. The forces for social change in our country are seeking a common meeting ground to present to the people of our country alternatives to a course of greed, brutalization and repression.

The undersigned are convinced that these alternatives must be placed on the ballot this year represented by candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, attorney-general and comptroller in our State and by a candidate for United States Senator from New York. Further, we believe that such an initiative on our part can and will encourage similar action by like-minded citizens of other states in this year's elections.

Therefore, we call upon all independent, progressive and socialist-minded forces in our State to attend a Conference in New York City on the 13th, 14th and 15th days of June 1958, at the Hotel Great Northern, 118 W. 57th Street, for the purpose of adopting a platform and designating candidates for such offices in the 1958 elections as the Conference shall set forth.

★★★★★

"A united Independent-Socialist ticket in New York State can provide the long-needed impetus for a revival and reinvigoration of independent political action not only in our state but elsewhere throughout the country. We believe that thousands of people in our state would rally to the support of such a campaign. We believe that this effort is necessary this year to introduce vital issues and prospects which will otherwise be absent from the political argument in the forthcoming elections. Further, if a minimum of 50,000 votes can be won at the ballot-box, an independent political medium of great, new significance can be given ballot status in our state for future elections."

from initiating committee's letter

★★★★★

[U.S. DEPT. OF STATE]

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

FEB 3 1958

Dear Mr. DuBois:

In the reviewing of our records it was noted that through an inadvertence the passport fee which you submitted with your application executed at New York City on June 7, 1955 was not returned.

Administrative action has now been taken to return the passport fee to you. A Treasury check in the amount of $9.00 will be forwarded to you in the near future. Under the law the execution fee of $1.00 collected at the time you submitted your application cannot be remitted.

Sincerely,

Edward J. Hickey

Edward J. Hickey
Deputy Director for Administration
Passport Office

49-8-12

Mr. William E. B. DuBois,
20 West 40th Street,
New York, New York.

[ENCLOSURE FROM U.S. DEPT. OF STATE]
[1958?]

P

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4/11/16/14

Dear Fellow Citizen:

You have been issued a valued credential - the Passport of the United States. It requests that, in the countries you intend to visit, there be provided you, as an American citizen, safe passage, lawful aid and protection in case of need. As the holder of this passport, you will be the guest of our neighbors and friends in the world family of nations.

Year after year, increasing numbers of our citizens travel to foreign countries. In most of these lands there exist a reservoir of good will for the United States and a knowledge of what we stand for. In some areas, our country and its aspirations are less well understood. To all the varied peoples of these many countries, you, the bearer of an American passport, represent the United States of America.

As you travel abroad, the respect you show for foreign laws and customs, your courteous regard for other ways of life, and your speech and manner help to mold the reputation of our country. Thus, you represent us all in bringing assurance to the people you meet that the United States is a friendly nation and one dedicated to the search for world peace and to the promotion of the well-being and security of the community of nations.

Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower

IN REPLY REFER TO:
H2215

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON NATIONAL MONUMENT
P.O. Box 1710, Roanoke, Virginia

February 19, 1958

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Perhaps you have learned that a National Monument has been established for Booker T. Washington at his birthplace in Franklin County, Virginia. As Superintendent of the area my staff and I are engaged in research to evaluate the significance of Booker T. Washington as a great American.

As the outstanding contemporary of Booker T. Washington, we would appreciate your thoughts on several questions. The information collected may be incorporated into our plans for a museum to tell the story of Booker T. Washington. We would like to have your comments on what you presently believe to be Booker T. Washington's greatest contributions and what you think his greatest weaknesses were. We have Souls of Black Folk and Dusk of Dawn. If your views are still as stated in these books, please let us know; otherwise we would appreciate your recent thoughts on the matter.

In Dusk of Dawn (page 301) you state: "I had hoped for such insistence upon the compelling importance of the economic factor that this would lead to a project for a planned program for using the racial segregation . . . . in order that the laboring masses might be able to have built beneath them a strong foundation for self-support and social uplift . . . " Samuel R. Spencer in Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life (pp. 197-200) states: "The really new program in Washington's program was his emphasis on economic independence and security . . . . By over-emphasizing industrial education he highlighted the fact that economic progress offered a means to full integration, no less important than political means and that the two complemented each other . . . His predecessors had taken their lead from Thomas Jefferson. Washington took his from Benjamin Franklin . . . . Unfortunately, his economic emphasis had its weaknesses as well as its strength. His accurate judgement that the negro's economic ills contributed to his vulnerability in other areas was partly offset by the fact that he conceived of economics in terms more valid for Franklin's day than for the twentieth century."

27-389-75

In the February 1958 issue of The Progressive, Francis L. Broderick's "The Tragedy of W. E. B. DuBois" states on page 31: "The Negro and his white friends had worked with the old DuBois, uncompromising fighter for full equality, too long to turn to a new DuBois who sounded like Booker T. Washington." This seemingly misinterprets your views. Would you mind stating how your and Booker T. Washington's viewpoints differ with regard to means for the Negroes to achieve eventual equality through economic determinism?

This is an exceedingly large request from someone you do not know, but I would like to have the historical record accurate as to your views.

Sincerely yours,

Chester L. Brooks

Chester L. Brooks
Superintendent

67-29B-76

[U.S. Library of Congress]

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT
MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

August 20, 1958

42-54-234

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am sure that it is unnecessary to point out to you the efforts of the Library to secure and make available to scholars the papers of outstanding Americans. It is for this reason that I am writing to urge you to give your papers to the United States for inclusion in the national manuscript collections here.

I am enclosing a brochure which I hope will plead our cause, as well as point out our aims and describe our facilities. If it leaves any questions unanswered, please do not hesitate to communicate them to me.

If yourpapers are committed to another repository, we would appreciate having that information for our records.

Faithfully yours,

David C. Mearns
Chief
Manuscript Division

Enclosure

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 7, New York

[Enc.]

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
REFERENCE DEPARTMENT
MANUSCRIPTS DIVISION

Private Papers

A Plea For Their Preservation
and
An Explanation of Their Importance
to the
National Collections

Manuscripts Division

THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS of the Library of Congress are composed of many millions of papers valuable to students of the American past. Here are the originals of the rough draft of the Declaration of Independence; George Washington's commission as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army; the notes on the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention; the first telegraph message; the first and second drafts of the Gettysburg Address; the correspondence of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, John Tyler, James Knox Polk, Zachary Taylor, Franklin Pierce, Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, James Abram Garfield, Chester A. Arthur, Grover Cleveland, Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Woodrow Wilson, and Calvin Coolidge; a great variety of papers of their outstanding contemporaries from Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton to Charles Evans Hughes and Cordell Hull; and the papers of distinguished jurists, warriors, scientists, explorers, authors, architects, artists, editors, clergymen, diplomats, labor leaders, social workers, teachers, actors, doctors, merchants, industrialists, financiers, and philanthropists—in short, the papers of those men and women who, throughout the centuries, have most profoundly influenced the lives and destinies of their countrymen. In addition there are millions of transcripts and photoreproductions of material in the archives of Great Britain, France, Spain, Mexico, and Canada relating to the people of the United States.

The autographic value of the collections is large, for there are rare and curious papers of persons foremost in national life; but the chief value of the collections is historical. In the case of a man or woman who has played a significant part in national affairs, the Library desires all the papers—letters sent and letters received, drafts, memoranda, diaries, journals, notes of every sort and kind.

These national manuscript collections are housed in fireproof, vault-like, air-conditioned stacks with humidity control. An expert staff organizes them for use, insures their protection and preservation, and provides for their scholarly reference use in the Division's commodious and well-equipped reading room. Craftsmen, skilled in modern techniques, repair and restore manuscripts received in damaged condition. The Library maintains an excellent photographic laboratory where manuscripts may be copied.

It is seldom possible to write from source material on any phase of American civilization—political, military, social, economic, religious, or artistic—without recourse to these great national collections. Indeed, historical writers of standing constantly avail themselves of the resources and facilities of the Manuscripts Division. For this reason, representation in these collections is the surest way to secure recognition in the history of the Nation. Persons justly proud of the achievements of their ancestors present their papers to the Library in order that historians may have access to them. This they regard as both a duty and a privilege for here they become a living, evocative, and enduring memorial.

Manuscripts are often given to the Library subject to certain conditions, which are faithfully and scrupulously observed. Thus for a period mutually acceptable to the Library and the donor the conditions may provide that the papers may be examined in each instance only upon the specific authorization of the donor; or that for a time the papers will be withheld altogether from public use; or that literary property rights will be reserved by the donor. It is not unusual, however, for donors to dedicate their literary property rights to the public, an action which markedly extends the usefulness of the manuscripts. The collections are made available only to serious scholars. Such are the safeguards thrown around the use of manuscripts that no case of willful injury has ever occurred.

The Library will submit for the donor's signature a formal instrument of gift embodying any reasonable conditions which the donor may impose. In shipping, the right way is for the sender to include every paper, even those considered intimate or trivial. The Library will examine all with a view to selecting those of permanent importance to research, and will, upon request, return what appears to be inappropriate. Instructions for shipment at the Library's expense will be sent upon application to the Library of Congress, Exchange and Gift Division, Washington 25, D. C.

The advantages to be derived from placing collections of papers in the Library of Congress are:

1. To preserve them. Here they are in an institution belonging to the Government. They will survive as long as the seat of Government survives, and they will be as far beyond danger of loss, dispersion, or deterioration as in an age of perilous weapons it is possible for them to be. They are guarded around the clock.

2. To contribute to the truth of history. While in private hands, they are inaccessible to historians. Their existence is not generally known. There are no facilities for their use.

3. To give the individual whose papers they were the place in history to which he may be entitled. The historian is a reporter. He must have material on which to base his statements. The public man whose papers are accessible takes his proper place in history. The public man whose papers have been destroyed or are kept in private hands is often inadequately or mistakenly estimated—or is entirely overlooked. To retain the papers of a national personage in private hands is to deprive him of the abiding fame which is his right and to which he properly looked forward.

4. To complement a national resource. "History is the memory of mankind." But just as a man's memory is, in particulars, fallible, imperfect, shaded by personality and passion, so the memory of mankind must be collective, cumulative, tested, and proven if history is to further an understanding of experience. The elements of truth must be integrated. A collection of papers in combination with the papers of close associates and formidable adversaries assures sound evidence, and from the reality of experience comes confident ground for present action. And to this consideration there is a compelling, a decisive corollary, for in the Manuscripts Division private papers are juxtaposed to the most comprehensive, encyclopedic, universal aggregate of books and pamphlets, magazines and newspapers, maps and charts, prints and photographs, and other records of the human family ever brought together at any place in any time. They can shape the future, for in the Library of Congress private papers are added to the sum of knowledge.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

48-7-25

[Vereniging ...]

VERENIGING HAAGSCHE KUNSTKRING - Denneweg 64 - 's-Gravenhage
tel.110247 giro 25839

4 sept. 1958

UITNODIGING.

Het bestuur van de Vereniging Haagsche Kunstkring heeft de eer u uit te nodigen tot het bijwonen van een manifestatie, te houden ter gelegenheid van het bezoek aan Nederland van de bekende Amerikaanse geleerde en letterkundige W.E.B. DUBOIS, en wel op

donderdag 11 september 1958 - aanvang 20.30 u.
in het gebouw van de Haagsche Kunstkring,
Denneweg 64 - 's-Gravenhage.

Het programma voor de manifestatie is als volgt samengesteld:

"IK ZAG HOE ZWART IK WAS" - een avond ter ere van W.E.B.DuBois -

1. Openingswoord	-	-	Mr.P.Cleveringa, Alg.vrz. H.K.K.
2. "Het volk dat in duisternis wandelt"	- Causerie	-	J.W.Schulte Nordholt
3. Poëzie van negerauteurs	- Voordracht	-	Rosey E. Pool
4. Toespraak	-	-	W.E.B.DuBois
5. "Litanie van Atlanta" (W.E.B.DuBois)	- Voordracht	-	Paul Breman

Het geheel zal met een keuze van disco's - waarvan enkele hiervoor zelfs speciaal zijn samengesteld - muzikaal worden omlijst.

W.E.B. DuBois is in de geschiedenis van de gekleurde bevolking van Amerika een uitermate belangrijke en boeiende figuur. Hij werd geboren op 23-2-1868, vlák na de emancipatie - en vierde dus kort geleden zijn negentigste verjaardag.
Hij werd opgevoed aan de Fisk (neger-) en Harvard (blanke-) Universiteit, en voltooide zijn opleiding 1892-1894 in Duitsland.
Een kort overzicht van zijn loopbaan is voldoende om een indruk te krijgen van zijn ongelooflijke veelzijdigheid:
Oprichter en hoofdredacteur van het eerste belangrijke wetenschappelijke neger-tijdschrift 1897-1911; mede-oprichter en hoofd Public Relations van de National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) - de organisatie die nog steeds van zich laat horen in zulke gevallen als Little Rock - 1910-1932; grondlegger van de Pan African beweging - het eerste contact tussen de negroïde bevolkingen van Afrika en de Amerika's -; hoofd van de afdeling sociologie Atlanta Universiteit 1933-1944; hoofdredacteur van de Encyclopedie of the Negro - een zeer omvangrijke documentatie, die niet alleen Amerika maar ook Afrika omvat 1933-1945; hoofd wetenschappelijk onderzoek van de eerder genoemde NAACP 1944-1948. DuBois is de enige Amerikaan, blank of zwart, die in alle edities van "Who's who in America", vanaf de oprichting voorkomt.

Wij vestigen uw aandacht er op dat deze avond een bijzondere actualiteit heeft gekregen doordat zij samenvalt met de uitspraak van het Hooggerechtshof in de U.S.A. over de kwestie Little Rock.

HET BESTUUR.

N.B. Deze uitnodiging geldt voor twee personen.

[Voutov]

W. E. B. Du BOIS
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

March 12, 1958

His Excellency Peter Voutov
Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of Bulgaria
to the United Nations
21 East 75 street
New York City

Dear Mr. Voutov and Mme. Voutova:

The lost has at last been found. Your letter of February 28 was discovered in a box at the foot of my bed along with some of the smaller articles of your very lovely gifts, the cigarettes, and the essence de rose bulgare. When your gifts were delivered, we placed the card, the canteen, and the cigarette box, together with the beautiful embroidered tea-cloth, on the piano, and put away the wine. Then we placed the other smaller articles in one of the boxes and either I or Mrs. Du Bois laid the letter on top, and closed the box. I am sure that my wife did this and she is equally sure that I did. Meantime the cablegram from Bulgaria had been forwarded to us by William Patterson, and it was this that I answered in my last letter to you. Now, having discovered the letter, I am answering that, and I and Mrs. Du Bois want to thank you very deeply, for your thought of us.

It was pleasant to see you at the Ghana reception, and we hope to see you again soon.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

W. E. B. Du BOIS
51 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

March 12, 1958

42-50-48

Mrs. Alice Moldship Ware
510 Riverside Drive
New York City

Dear Mrs. Ware:

Shirley and I join in thanking you for your kind letter of March 3. We appreciate your recalling memories of the past and of Yolande as a baby. We are still very eager to have you come over and see our home. Almost any day would do if you can find the time and means of transport. I drove a car for thirty years, but gave it up ten years ago, as I no longer dared trust myself on the crowded streets. So we cannot send for you. But do come and see us. Our home is fairly easy of access but of course you must not attempt subways.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

42-50-61

June 5, 1958.

Mr. T. K. Gibson, Sr.,
3501 South Parkway,
Chicago 15, Ill.

My dear Chairman Gibson:

It has been a most pleasing experience to have worked with and under you as Chairman of The Chicago W. E. B. DuBois Committee in our effort to express gratitude to Dr. DuBois. You have made a wonderful Chairman. I do not believe that any one else could have done so well. C O N G R A T U L A T I O N S!

I have disagreed with you on only one matter. In despite of my efforts not to say this, my conscience has insisted. I believe, in a degree, defeated our fullest purpose - to do all possible to get some of Dr. DuBois' works back into print when you suggested $100.00 for our Coordinator and directed me to write such a check which you handed to her after the meeting of Jun. 2nd. She had received a tape recording of the evening of June 21st; she has received, at her request, a ticket to the $25.00 Dinner and Lecture; she frequently received your highest plaudits; she had received, at her request, a check to cover her expenses such as taxi cab fare, telephone and so on. At first I could not believe you to be serious (nor can I believe other members of the committee to do so) about this item. I was surprised at her accepting it. She had voluntarily expressed in my home at a meeting of the auditors that she hopeful of receiving a brief case from the committee. I am not saying that she did or did not deserve it.

I believe the $100.00 should have gone to Dr. DuBois to assist him in his work. It has reduced just that much the success of our cause and purpose. You and no member of the committee have thought of submitting an expense account. Each has given of his or her time and effort with attendant and inevitable expenditures.

You announced that Dr. and Mrs. DuBois would be in Chicago June 20th and that you were hopeful that they might find the time to spend a couple of hours exclusively with the committee, and, at which time we could present the final check. I think you will appreciate the information that todate we have collected a total of $3,511.00 and expended $2,014.51 with a balance of $1,496.49. All bills known to the treasurer are paid. I believe we committed ourselves to approximately $300.00 to place Dr. DuBois' works in the libraries of schools with which he has been connected. I am trusting that no more bad checks will appear.

Most sincerely yours,

Archie L. Weaver.

ORGANIZED JUNE, 1945
"BUILDING A BETTER U.S.A."

SOCIAL – URGE – CIVIC

KEEPING ALIVE OLD FRIENDSHIPS, ASSOCIATIONS AND MEMORIES

United Retired Government Employees Club

MEETING: FOURTH TUESDAY, MONTHLY – WASHINGTON PARK FIELD HOUSE

Non nobis solum

42-54-58

CAPT. ARCHIE L. WEAVER, PRESIDENT
GEORGE B. WARREN, VICE PRESIDENT
JOSEPH F. GORE, RECORDING SECRETARY
HORATIUS M. CAREY, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
EUGENE G. HELM, FINANCIAL SECRETARY

DESK OF THE PRESIDENT
3655 PRAIRIE AVENUE
ATLANTIC 5-4133
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

LUCIUS H. THOMAS, TREASURER
AMOS M. MEREDITH, CHAPLAIN
MILTON T. GALLOWAY, SERGT.-AT-ARMS
ISAAC T. YARBOROUGH, MUSICAL DIRECTOR
HERL S. LEWIS, PARLIAMENTARIAN

June 9, 1958.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Discard any thing that may be said in this letter as official. It is purely a personal and private one - no secrets. Your recent visit to Chicago gave me much joy and satisfaction. To me it was almost perfection. Almost? At a meeting of the committee on June 2nd, Mr. Gibson announced that you both would be in Chicago (he did not specify the occasion) June 20th, and, at which time he hoped that we might be able to enjoy you for at least an hour or two in privacy - all alone. I could not have heard better news. I am hopeful that you will be kind enough to erase the word "almost." While you were here, I took several pictures of you with others. I was never in the picture. These are color pictures which I show with slides on the screen. I enjoy them and showed them to the committee on June 2nd. I am requested to show them again when you come. I also showed pictures I took of you when you spoke here in the Midland Hotel October 28, 1955.

This is a plea for your permission in advance to allow me to be taken with you for my pleasure to view in the days and years to come at will. I am here also seeking some information from you. I have given over a room in my basement to a committee to write the history of the Chicago Branch, NAACP. The committee has been in existence for some years. We organized the Chicago group in 1910. I am the sole surving charter member and a Life Member. The National Office has informed me that Dr. John Haynes Holmes signed the original call and it has indicated that I am next to him in length of membership. I am making no intense effort at research but picking up bits here and there, now and then. I have read much of Mary White Ovington's "The Walls Came Tumbling Down." A very beautiful story but much is not too definite. I enjoy her very fine reference to you. Will you be kind enough to answer the following questions and adding thereto any information you may care to add or give me? Thanks.

42-54-60

2. Dr. DuBois. 6-9-58.

I believe you organized the Niagara Movement in 1906. The N. A. A. C. p. was organized in 1909 and grew out of the Springfield (Illinois) riots in the summer of 1908. Am I right in this?
Did you sign the original call that brought N. A. A. C. P. into life?

If not, at what point did you become apart and member (date if you recall) of the N. A. A. C. P.? Are you currently a member of the NAACP ?

What was the relationship between the Niagara Movement and the NAACP ?

When did the Niagara Movement cease to exist? And Why?

Can you affirm the reference made herein made concerning Dr. John Haynes Holmes? (I understand that he is retired and a rather sick man.) Also reference to myself? I know that you are acquaintedwith the early history.

In which of your books - book or books - and about what page or pages, (I think I have them all) could I get more information?

Dr. DuBois, I have a library of between 2,500 and 3,000 volumes. I must admit that I have read but very, very few of themthrough. I am proud of it for reference - especially my Negro Section and Masonic Section.

Dr. DuBois, Little Shirley is your wife and I am proud of her in her own right but especially for what she had to say of you at the Dinner here, and, I have claimed her as my Big Sister. I have your lecture on my tape recorder and I do now regret so much that I dont have her talk on that tape. I am wondering if she knows what I am hinting "at" ? Well, you never get anything withoit bringing it up and trying. Well I have done all that I could do. I do not know the time you will have here in Chicago on the 20th nor do I know the pressure you each will be under. I cam only hope. If there is any possibility, advise me in advance that I may be ready.

Yours most sinc

The chimes sounded forth. I answered. The letter carrier just delivered the mail and there is yours of the 6th. How delighted I am to have it.

I am enjoying its contents and particularly the humor of a friend past 90. Glad that you were able to recover from the over doses of birthday cake in so many different places/ Gee, for a young man you do get around. It will be my great pleasure to place at once a duplicate for the slides representing "the several hundred pictures that I shot." I shall go down town tomorrow and place the order and you shall have them.

Love and best wishes to you and my "Big Sister"

Archie

Archie L. Weaver.

P. S. Note your letter says you will see me on 19th. Let it be 19th or 20th, I shall be happy. 19th will not be too soon.

A. L. W.

CAPT. ARCHIE L. WEAVER. PRESIDENT
SALLIE WILSON. VICE-PRESIDENT
GRACE WINNINGHAM. TREASURER
BENJAMIN G. CLANTON. ATTORNEY
ANNETTA GOOLSBY. SECRETARY
NETTIE COMPTON. ASST. SECRETARY

W

"BUILDING A GREATER CHICAGO"

SECOND WARD IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

A Federation of Block Improvement Clubs

THE PRESIDENT'S DESK
3655 PRAIRIE AVENUE
ATLANTIC 5-4133
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

September 3, 1958.

43-54-240

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Yours of July 29th came to hand promptly. I noted that you both were planning to set sail for Europe on August 5th. I am hoping that you had a safe and profitable trip and now back home. But, say, young man, dont you think that you are covering much too much territory here in your youth. Well, God bless you and more power to you.

Just three days before you wrote me, I suffered a littl mishap and have been confined every since. Much improved and doing fime. The doctor has kept me off my feet by prescribing medicne that has kept me groggy and sleepy. I have really had a most restful vacation. If this letter does not read with too much good sense you will understand - I am coming out of it as one would of the night before. This is my third letter in more than a month. Note the enclosure. I shall be happy to concede to your suggestion.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I sent to you June 9th. It might be that the original did not reach you or has since been misplaced. Now it could be that for some personal reason you would not care to answer some or any of those questions. If so just ignore them. If I do not hear from you on the questions there will be no offense - I will understand.

Please remember me warmly to my dear big sister, Shirley and keep a good portion of my best wishes for yourself.

Most sincerely yours,

Archie

Archie L. Weaver.

2. Dr. DuBois. 6-9-58.

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What was the relationship between the Niagara Movement and the NAACP ?

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42-SA-241

Can you affirm the reference made herein made concerning Dr. John Haynes Holmes? (I understand that he is retired and a rather sick man.) Also reference to myself? I know that you are acquaintedwith the early history.

In which of your books - book or books - and about what page or pages, (I think I have them all) could I get more information?

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Love and best wishes to you and my "Big Sister"

Archie L. Weaver.

P. S. Note your letter says you will see me on 19th. Let it be 19th or 20th, I shall be happy. 19th will not be too soon.

A. L. W.

W

42/50/136

September 3, 1958.

Mr. T. K. Gibson, Sr., Chairman
Chicago DuBois Committee,
3501 South Parkway,
Chicago 15, Ill.

Dear Mr. Gibson:

We had a balance to our credit of $506.24 until I issued check No. 28, 7-31-58, to Paul Romaine Books, 184 N. LaSalle Street, in the sum of $273.12 for some 46 books to be shipped to Universities and school libraries over the country. As of now we have a balance of $233.12.

I accepted the office of treasurer on condition that when the affair was over a public statement be made through the press of monies handled. Do you now think that such a statement should be made - deducting the cost of such a statement if any and the balance be forwarded on to Dr. DuBois? Just a suggestion.

Some time ago Dr. DuBois requested me to please supply him with a notorized statement of the actual amount of money given him for income tax purposes. You and I can well understand why he has made such a request. Of course we still have time to do this if you have in mind any possible reason for not now closing the account. I am at your service and command in the matter.

Trusting that you are enjoying the best of health, I am

Most sincerely yours,

Archie L. Weaver.

42-54-47

GEORGE H. WETTACH
17-20 WELL DRIVE
FAIR LAWN, NEW JERSEY

November 11, 1958

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 7, N.Y.

Dear Doctor DuBois:

May I trouble you for your autograph for my collection? I would be both proud and grateful if you would favor me with it.

For your convenience I enclose a card and a stamped addressed envelope.

With many thanks in advance, I am

Sincerely yours,

George H. Wettach

41-19F-18

July 12, 1958

Dear, dear Monica Whately,

This must be a short letter because I am dashing around at a breathless pace. We have our passports! You've probably already seen Paul so you won't be too surprised to hear that we expect to be in London by the middle of August. Everything finally happened so quickly that we really have no plans. Also, because there are on foot frantic efforts in Congress to nullify the decision of the Supreme Court we dare not wait until fall.

Since I fear Congress will get through restrictive legislature I must do everything on this one trip. So start looking around for sessions and places I ought to go. How long we'll stay and how far we'll go will be limited only by our pursestrings. Personally, I'm prepared to empty the purse.

We expect to arrive at Southhampton, August 14th. We can be reached through Cedric Belfrage, 16 Talbot , London W 2. Cedric is arranging where we will stay.

You can imagine that I just about hysterical. I have so much to tell you. I do hope you are feeling tip-top these days. I know you've had a rather strenuous stretch. Ida told us that you'd like to pay us a visit. We'll talk about that when we see you.

Take care of yourself. You are such a dynamo of spirit and light!

Hope to be seeing you soon,

Affectionately,

$

93 Makepeace Mansions
Highgate,
London, N.6

WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA

EDITORIAL OFFICES
MARQUIS PUBLICATIONS BUILDING
CHICAGO-11 ILLINOIS U.S.A.

February 7, 1958

W E B - T 12 4 Hunt
35

111-65-12

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Doctor DuBois:

This year marks the publication of Volume 30, the Sixtieth Anniversary Edition, of WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA. We are taking note of the occasion in several ways. One of them is to pay special honor to the twenty-eight biographees of Volume I who have been continuously listed in all thirty editions of WHO'S WHO.

You are one of that honored group, and it gives me great pleasure to invite you to our Sixtieth Anniversary celebration, which will be held on Thursday, February 27, just prior to the publication of Volume 30 on March 1. The place will be the Arts Club of Chicago, and the time, five to seven o'clock.

At that time we will present to all of those who have been listed in WHO'S WHO continuously since Volume I a specially prepared scroll of honor. In case you cannot be there, we will of course mail your scroll to you after the presentation.

I do hope we can have the pleasure of your presence February 27 and would appreciate your informing me whether or not you will be able to attend.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Wheeler Sammons, Jr.
Associate Publisher

WSJr.hem

W. E. B. Du BOIS
81 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

February 19, 1958

42-SA-181

Wheeler Sammons, Jr.
Associate Publisher
Who's Who in America
Marquis Publications
Chicago 11, Ill.

My dear Mr. Sammons:

Answering your letter of February 17, may I say that Mrs. Du Bois will accompany me to Chicago February 27, and that we have reservations at the Palmer House instead of at the Hilton Hotel, as I said previously. Mrs. Du Bois will attend the reception with me.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA

EDITORIAL OFFICES
MARQUIS PUBLICATIONS BUILDING
CHICAGO-11 ILLINOIS U.S.A.

February 25, 1958

42-SA-115

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Doctor Du Bois:

We shall of course be delighted to have Mrs. Du Bois attend the 60th Anniversary reception along with you.

When you arrive please do not hesitate to call me if you have any possible difficulties in getting from the hotel to the reception, although it is just a short cab ride from the Palmer House to the Arts Club, which is located on Ontario Street just west of Michigan Avenue.

Again let me express my great pleasure that both you and Mrs. Du Bois can attend the reception.

Sincerely yours,

Wheeler Sammons, Jr.

Wheeler Sammons, Jr.
Associate Publisher

WSJr.hem

43-5A-85

Rt. 3, Box 464
Albany, Georgia
November 28

Dear Mr. DuBois,

The purpose of my writing is to ask a small favor which means a great deal to me. Could you please send me a personally autographed photograph of yourself for my room? I certainly shall appreciate it if you will do this, and I assure you the size of the photo does not matter as long as you personally sign the front of it. This is so the signature will be visible when the picture is framed.

It is indeed an honor to know that you are taking the time to read my letter and to consider my request. I sincerely hope you will not find a reason to disappoint me. I shall be anxiously awaiting your reply, so please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

In closing please accept my warmest personal regards for your future health and happiness, and I sincerely wish you and yours the best of everything in life.

Respectfully yours,

Jim Wiggins

JIM WIGGINS
RT. 3, BOX 464
ALBANY,
GEORGIA

FOUNDED 1890

TELEPHONE 2-0538

CAMPBELL COLLEGE

H. P. WILBURN
President
1500 West Lynch Street
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

May 15, 1958

Mr. T. K. Gibson
Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company
3501 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

I am happy to extend congratulations and greetings to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois during the commemoration of his recent 90th birthday. He has been a definite asset to Education.

Sincerely yours,

H. P. Wilburn
President

HPW/vot

27-294-78

Jack Shulman, 860 Riverside Drive
WA-3-1935

BERTRAM F. WILLCOX
MYRON TAYLOR HALL
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

April 14, 1958

Dr. W. E. DuBois
23 West 26th St.
New York 10, N. Y.

42-53-47

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I take the liberty of writing to you as an old friend of my father, Walter W. Willcox. I asked him to do so on my behalf, but he is now having to hoard his strength (at 97) and preferred that I write to you.

The reason for my letter is to inquire about the committee to defend Grady and Judy Jenkins. The appeal and the literature accompanying it made me wish to contribute the modest amount I am able, to so good a cause.

But it happens that I have no knowledge of the people who are making the appeal and thought that since your name appears as a sponsor you would not object to my making sure that your name is used with your authority.

If it is, I shall of course have no hesitancy in sending a small check.

Sincerely yours

Bertram F. Willcox

Bertram F. Willcox

BFW:rr

~~AL-4-7954~~

~~MU-5-5250~~

April 25, 1938

Mr. Bertram F. Willcox
Myron Taylor Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Willcox:

I did not get your letter of April 14th until my return from California April 22nd.

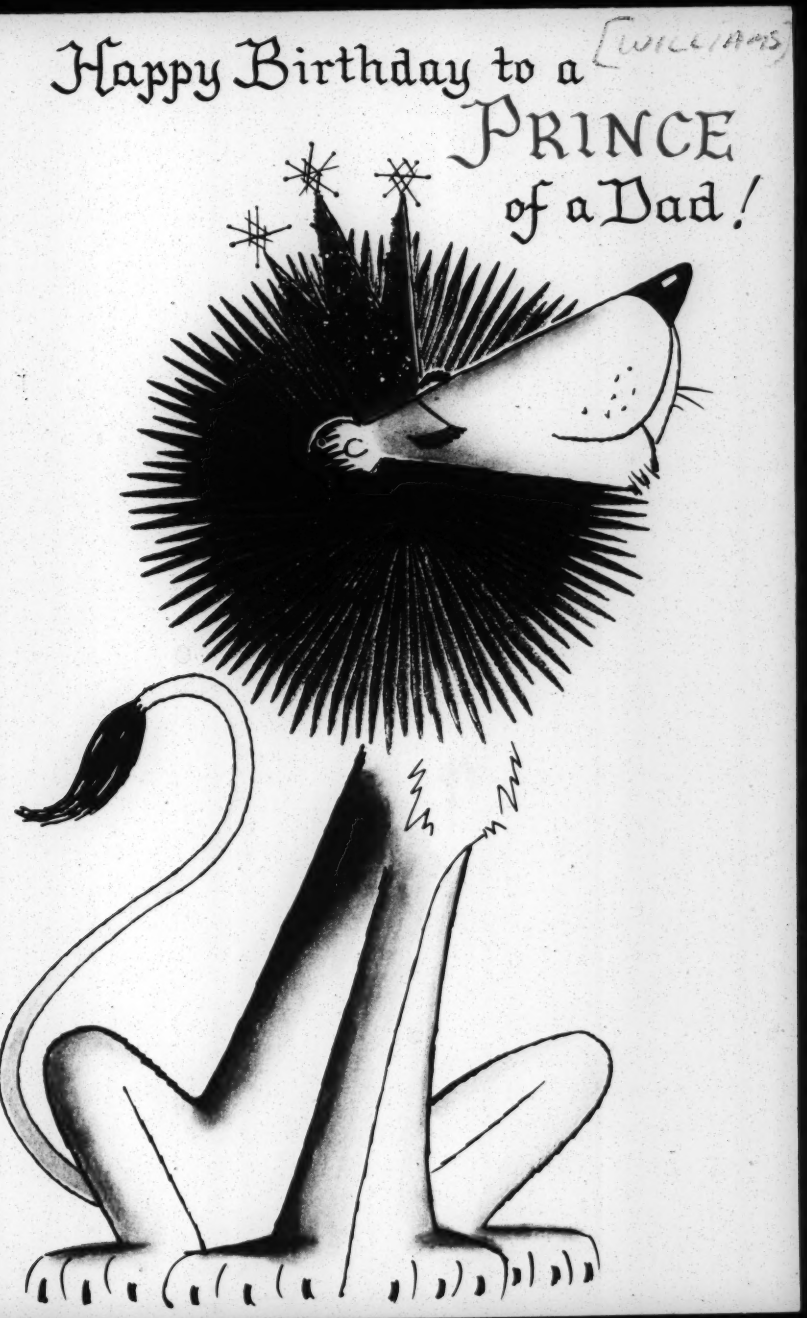
The Committee to defend Grady and Judy Jenkins, may be addressed in care of Jack Shulman, 860 Riverside Drive, New York. I think their case is worthy of help. Shulman is secretary of the local committee.

Will you greet your father, Walter W. Willcox. I remember the great satisfaction my cooperation with him in the census of 1900.

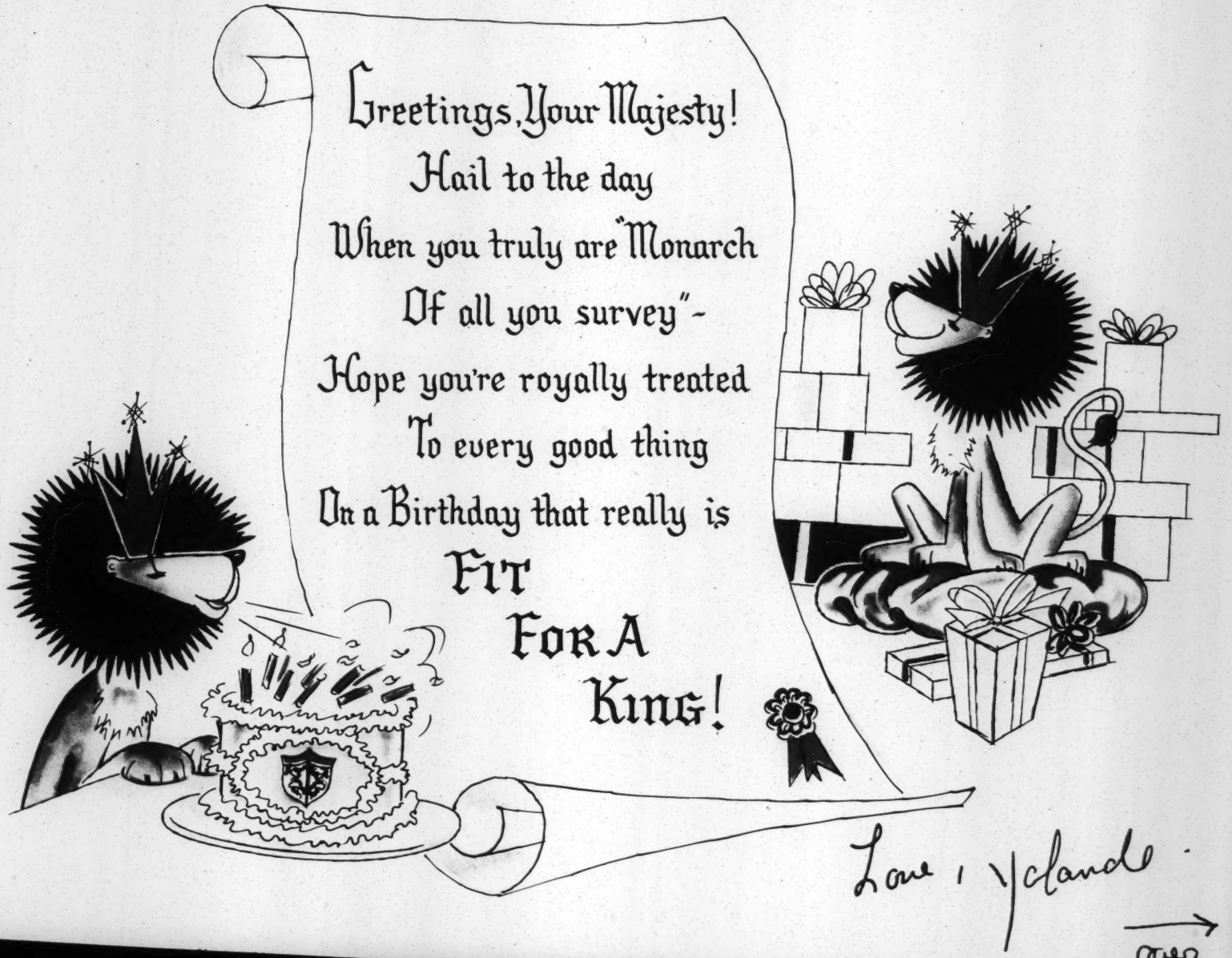
Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:RM

42-58-41



VOLLAND
USA
25BF244


Greetings, Your Majesty!
Hail to the day
When you truly are "Monarch
Of all you survey"-
Hope you're royally treated
To every good thing
On a Birthday that really is
FIT
FOR A
KING!
Love, Yolande
over

Dearest Pop —

Received your letter & enjoyed it so much. I'm sending copies of it to DuBois & Arthur & Alice & Fred.

Glad reading all your grand news & description there's no news here at all except sad news Dr. Carrington's Daisy

died — also Ruth Burgess. All of us are well. I was up for Xmas but only stayed a day! I was quite upset & worried for awhile because news paper reports of your illness reached me before your letter. It was fascinating to read of Coleridge & Wordsworth & Coleridge is one of my favorite poets.

43-54-28

I do hope these cards reach you - Card will reach the second one - the "snooty lion" you know!

Take good care of yourself! Write again when you can

Love & Sherley

Lots of love

Yolanda.

[1958?]

Mrs. Yolande DuBois-Williams
2201 Southern Avenue
Baltimore 14, Maryland

Monday

42-SA-169

Dearest Papa & Shirley -

Just a line to say how much I enjoyed the reception. It was really a grand affair - much much more pretentious than I expected. I judged there must have been almost 2,000 people there. I must have heard dozens remark how well Papa looked. The whole thing certainly must have taken lots & lots of

Mrs. Yolande DuBois-Williams
2201 Southern Avenue
Baltimore 14, Maryland

42-50-170

work but it was worth it.
I suppose — I hope that
everyone is well rested
now. By attending
these important affairs
I get to see so many
worthwhile folks — who
those I have to see
for ages.

I run on late
getting this mail write

(OVER)

but I'm just getting back in the class room after being in the auditorium for a month rehearsing for the "Pageant." Not being in the class-room for that length of time meant my classes had work to make up. When I see you again I'll tell you all about it because it's the biggest affair I've directed & have received many favorable comments. I'll be calling to see how things are up that way.

Lots of love -
Yolanda

[Yolande DuBois Williams]
[INCOMPLETE]

Moscow, December 10, 1958

My dearest Yolande:

I know you have said some nice things about me and my letterwriting since August 8, Well, I have been busy, sick, well and moving over half the ea th. I knew of course that a journey like this was a risk at my age, but after all at ninety anything is a risk and I decided that just to sut home and wait for death was no greater risk than traveling among friends and well-wishers. Of course I made the initial error of doing too much: two lectures and two broadcasts in England which laid me low wiyh a vicious attack of " Gastro- enteritis" whatever that may be and Shirley scred stiff. But we were in Paul Robesons's apartment (he was absent in Russia) and the British social medicine certainly did its stuff. The best of care and no charge. I came out apparently none the worse for the wear. I had to miss Belgium but we wnnt to Hollandwhere we had adventures with broadcasts, lectures and a reception.

Then by train to Paris just at election time. France I hardly knew you but despite the terror, I atte ded the Joliot-Curie memorial and sat on thered-draped rostrum at the righgnt hand of the presiding chaurman, ~~xxxx~~ Thorez. I sat long in the Luxemburg gardens and rode alon the Chaps Elysees and the Bois. Of course a half day in the Louvre. Then eldction Sunday , spe t at a lovely chateau outside paris, so peaceful and lovely with French and Ameri an friends.

U-11-2

Then came a cablegram. e must fly to ~~xxxxxx~~ Tashkent, to a meeting of African and siatic authors; expenses paid, et.c. Where was Tashkent? Somewhe e south of Moascow . We flew by jet plane and found Tashkent not only hundreds of miles south but also as far east of Moscow as Los Angeles is of New York! e were in central Asia, near Xanadu "Where Kublai Khan, a stately palace built! We were honored guests, housed in a new and beautiful hotel, with servants and a personal interpreter , car and chauffeur. I was elected to the presidium and made a speech. We were entertained by Indians, Chinese, Africans and Russians and then wisked back to Moscow and then to Prague where we were guests of the Czechoslovakian Government. Again a hotel suite, car and chhauffeur and the most georgeous honors ever bestowed on me. Charles Univrsity of Prague was founded in 1348. The great Hall of ceremonies has been restored with grat arches and tiers of seats. The Rector and Faculty in caps, gowns and goldan chains, led by six richly capairisoned trumpeters with long gilt trumpets, sounded the ancient alarums as we marched in, i coming last with my official interpreter

42-54-132

WILLIAMS COLLEGE
WILLIAMSTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

March 21, 1958

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

The bearer of this note, Mr. Richard B. Herzog, is a student in very good standing in this college. His intentions in seeking an interview with you are honorable. He is writing a term paper which deals with your work.

I am certain that he would appreciate very much indeed any time that you could give him.

Sincerely,

Robert G. L. Waite

Robert G. L. Waite
Professor of History

June 30, 1958

Publisher of The Worker
23 W. 26th St.
New York City, N.Y

42/54/50

Dear Sir:

By some mistake in your office, I am receiving two copies of The Worker weekly, instead of the one for which I paid. Please correct this.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:RR

[WORLD PEACE COUNCIL]

13 March 1958

41/11A/6

Dear Friends,

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference appealed to all peoples to make 30th March a Day of Common Action, on which they would express their solidarity with the Algerian people fighting for their independence.

The World Council of Peace has consistently called for the end of the war in Algeria and has itself continuously worked for this aim. At the Colombo session, it reaffirmed that only recognition of the Algerian people's right to independence would enable the conflict to be brought to an end, through negotiations in the true interests of the Algerian and French people.

The World Council of Peace therefore supports the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in its call for an International Day for the end of the war in Algeria.

We are sure that for this Day, National Committees will find the most suitable ways, in keeping with the particular circumstances of their country, of getting public opinion to demand that this war is stopped. We are sure that the pressure of world opinion will bring about the end of this war and the just solution of the Algerian problem.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

F. Vigne

Fernand Vigne

42-54-56

July 29, 1958

Miss Pauline Young
4 Green Briar Road
Ardencroft,
Wilmington 3, Del.

Dear Pauline:

Shirley and I are sailing for Europe August 8 on the Liberte, to be gone several months. I had hoped to get down to Wilmington before leaving but there is too much to do. However you will have plenty of time to mail me that first edition of The Souls of Black Folk before postage rates go up if you hurry.

With best love,

[1958?] [Young]

Peter B. Young
~~9 Davie Circle~~
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Dear Professor DuBois:

Permit me to apologize again for the confusion caused by my long-distance call on Wednesday morning. I had no way of knowing, of course, that you had been on the road. I assume that you have found my little essay (W.E.B. DuBois: The Switch on the Central Theme) and its accompanying letter raising the possibility of a full scale biography.

42-SA-174

I can only add to that initial letter the fact that there is a great deal of interest here in a full scale study of your life and career. The chairman of our department, Fletcher M. Green, and other professors, notably Sitterson, Frank Klingberg and George B. Tindall are extremely anxious that this study be undertaken by a southern school, preferably UNC. And the Southern Historical Collection here, the largest manuscript collection in the South, is very eager to have microfilms of your papers -- so eager in fact that I anticipate some financial help from them in the event that we should be [redacted] able to arrive at an understanding.

It has occurred to me, naturally, that men with more qualifications than I possess -- notably Aptheker, Franklin, Reddick, et al -- have the same project in mind (and perhaps even on paper). I can only say that as against men of this type I have certain advantages as well as disadvantages.

You may be amused by one of the reactions here to my [redacted] essay. One of our [redacted] faculty people said: "A very interesting paper, Young, but don't you think, at least in spots, you were sort of harsh on this poor old man?" I tried to explain that "the poor old man" was still very tough and very healthy, and didn't need charity from anybody, least of all from me. This is a funny story, but it does bring up a sensitive and important point. In doing the research for my essay, I was struck by the way in which you have become a legend in your own time. A book or a speech or an essay from DuBois is roughly equivalent (for some people) to Moses coming down from Mt. Sinai with the tablets. Now, I am by no means a professional debunker; but neither am I a legend-swallower. The core of my essay is the enormous tension between your scientific materialism and African mysticism; it is precisely this tension which, in my opinion, makes you an extraordinary (though imperfect) human being, and a human being is really of much more interest than a legend. The genuine legendary figure -- Lenin, for example -- has no such tension; as the prototype of The Iron Bolshevik, Lenin is forced to deny his own humanity; he becomes something which is unrecognizable (and frightening) to us mere mortals. (I know all the stories about Lenin and the little children, Lenin and Krupskaya, etc. But this is precisely my point: where you and I would occasionally tell the little children to go away and bother somebody else, Lenin is always overflowing with love.) No, you are not a legend; you are something infinitely better -- a flawed human being. And where I see flaws, or where I think I see flaws, I can assure

you that I will not be held back by any genteel considerations of your age or your status as The Grand Old Man of the American Left.

I have a few days next week -- Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday -- before resuming the scholastic grind again. I would like very much to hop a Greyhound bus for New York and talk with you face to face. I don't want to impose on your schedule, but if you could squeeze me in for an hour or so I would be eternally grateful. I will give you another call late Friday or Saturday to see if this is possible.

Sincerely,

Peter B. Young

July 19, 1958

Gentlemen & People of America:

Though my pen is not equipped with the verbal facility of the Frenchman, Emile Zola, and though I do not have ready access to the public press as did Mr. Zola and Mr. Clemenceau many years ago, I do have thoughts and emotions which come from the heart, which prompt me to write this letter.

I accuse the United States Government of flagrantly deceiving the people whom it has pledged to serve with all due justice.

I accuse the United States Government of practicing a reign of terror such as was not equalled under Hitler at the height of fascism.

I accuse the United States Government of using any pretext whatsoever to intervene in the affairs of the Lebanese State, even though it may mean war.

I accuse the United States Government of acting counter to the basic principles of its own Constitution and Bill of Rights when it willfully, and without the real consent of the American People, seeks to perpetuate a dictatorship in the Lebanon, by assisting Chamoun in his attempt to change the Constitution of the Lebanon thereby perpetuating his presidency.

I accuse the United States Government of forgetting history and the voices of one of its ablest Statesmen, Abraham Lincoln, when it refuses to recognize the revolutionary government of another country.

I accuse the United States Government of attempting to perpetuate the Colonial slavery of the Lebanese States by sending in the troops of this Government, instead of "intending to help

Graham 7/31/58

421585

preserve the sovereign independence of a Nation under the Eisenhower Doctrine".

I accuse the United States Government of desiring to perpetuate colonial exploitation solely for the selfish purposes of the monopolistic oil groups in this country.

I accuse the United States Government of valuing more an oil interest and the further aggrandizement of a special few than the welfare of the citizens of the United States.

I accuse the United States Government of attempting to preserve archaic Governments which are callous to the wants of their people and which will remain puppets of the American big business.

I accuse the United States Government of helping to deprive the Lebanese people of the full benefit of their natural resources, to maintain their present low standard of living.

I accuse the United States Government of duplicity when it proclaims its military actions in the state of Lebanon is an act of self defense of this nation.

I accuse the United States Government of "Calling the Kettle Black", when it says there is foreign intervention in the Lebanese state by foreign controlled radio announcements, when it, itself, has been and is carrying out these same practices through the Voice of America, which broadcasts, by the way, have been speeded up since the recent civil strifes in the Middle Eastern countries.

The hands of the United States Government by intervening in the affairs of the Lebanese State have shown a consistency of purpose in keeping with the indecent treatment which they have shown to their negro minority for over 300 years.

42/5-6/6

I am a loyal American, although my citizentry be of a second-class nature. My genealogical history dates from the early history of the founding of this nation, when my forebears were perforce shackled and chained aboard slave trading ships, destination the "New World". Recent actions and events by and in this country have shown that the same barbaric tendencies which prompted such inhumane cruelty centuries ago now threaten the extinction of mankind.

The feelings of loyalty which I hold for my country and the principles upon which it was founded have prompted and forced me to raise my voice in protest against the actions of our government. I do not know whether my voice will be heard. Nor do I know whether the protest that I have raised will prick the consciences of our "silent generation". The time to stop Fascism is before it gets its start not after it has spilled the blood of our sons, brothers, fathers and sweethearts. I sincerely hope that others will feel it their constitutional duty to voicetheir opinions of the recent actions of our government. We want to live in peace, not in isolated terror.

I urgently ask that any opinion which may be voiced be for the good of the American people and the family of nations, as a whole, and not solely for a particular racial, social or religious group.

ONE OF THE SILENCED GENERATION

P.S. The broadcast sponsored by the Mutual Network, just this past Sunday, interviewing the Honorol Senator Wayne Morse has given me hope thatthere are still some decent people that run our government even though they be in the minority.

42/5817

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
Shirley Graham
Thirty-one Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

Aug.5, 1958

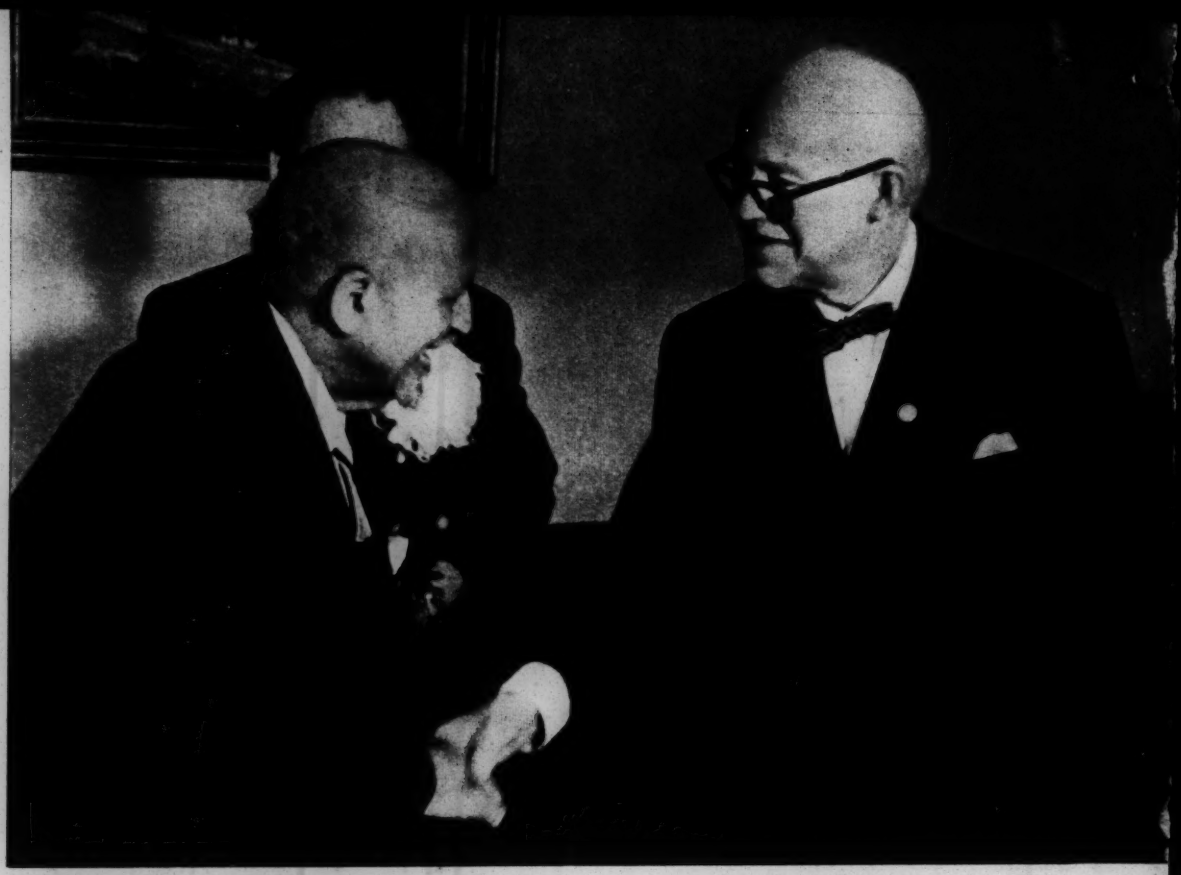
To Whom it may Concern:

This is to certify that I the undersigned, author of the trilogy, "The Black Flame" do hereby grant to Herbert Aptheker the right to correct, proofread and edit the last two volumes, entitled, "Mansart Builds a School", and "Worlds of Color". He may superintend the printing and publishing of these volumes.

In witness of this permission, I hereby sign my name.

W.E.B. Du Bois

46-12-14



(INCOMPLETE)

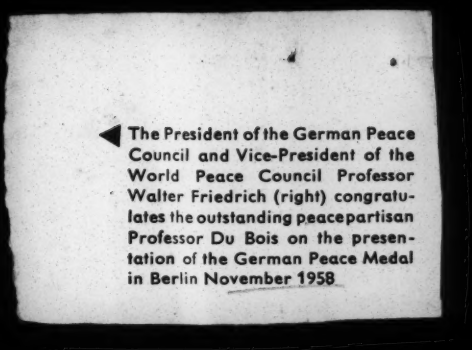
Ten Years of World Peace Movement

BY PROFESSOR WALTER FRIEDRICH
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

As these lines go to press, the Foreign Ministers are holding their conference in Geneva. For the first time in postwar history the German people, represented by government delegations of the two German states, have officially stepped on to the stage of international politics. For all the world to hear, the government delegation of the GDR, continuing its uncompromising policy of peace, has spoken on behalf of the whole German nation and demanded a peace treaty for Germany. Whatever the results of the Geneva Conference may be, the fact that the Great Powers are sitting round the green table is a success for the peace-loving peoples of all nations. In this respect the following article is of special significance, for the statements it contains will hold their validity long after the end of the conference. We reprint this article, written before the Foreign Ministers' Conference, slightly abridged from Neues Deutschland.

*

The dream of eternal peace is as old as the hatred against war. But in the past this longing for peace remained a wishful dream. Only today where there are many nations whose governments found their policy on peace, and where in nearly all countries of the world the people realise that the protection of peace is their very own business, can this dream be realised. An important step in the fight for this goal was the establishment of the World Peace Movement



◀ The President of the German Peace Council and Vice-President of the World Peace Council Professor Walter Friedrich (right) congratulates the outstanding peacepartisan Professor Du Bois on the presentation of the German Peace Medal in Berlin November 1958

Het Bestuur van de Vereniging „Ons Suriname" heeft hierbij de eer

de Heer
Mej.

uit te nodigen tot het bijwonen van de ontvangst van Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, de negentig-jarige beroemde Amerikaanse Neger auteur, een van de oprichters van de National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Stichter van de Pan-African Congress, en ook thans een der meest gerespecteerde en gezag. hebbende leiders van de Amerikaanse Negers.

De ontvangst zal gehouden worden op het Secretariaat van de Vereniging, Amstelkade 157, Amsterdam, op vrijdag 12 september 1958 om 8 uur n.m.

Namens het Bestuur van de Vereniging „Ons Suriname"
F. M. MOLL
Secretaris

Confidential

Organisation of Material

Part 1. Continental Survey.

(i) Physical Geography
(ii) General Mineral & Power Resources
Soil utilisation
(iii) Underdevelopment & global economic position. Health
Investments, profits. Infrastructure - communications.
(iv) Major linguistic & ethnic divisions.
(v) General political survey - Pan-Africanist organisations.
(vi) Concrete historical accounts of partitions & effects of colonial presence.

42/51/65

This material seems logically to require supranational, regional or continental treatment. The last section - historical - is placed here since it must precede the understanding of the irrationality & irrelevance from the African point of view of the bulk of European imposed territorial, political & economic divisions.

Part 2. Survey by Territories.

Preliminary scheme - each country to be treated under 5 main heads:

Geographical
Demographic
Economic
Political
Social & Cultural

(i) Geography. Area
Physical & natural resources
Climate

(ii) Demography. Total population & density
Total birth-rate
Total death-rate
Total sex ratio
Total age mean & life expectation

Then an ethnic breakdown repeating above figures per race.
Also Linguistic divisions
Religious enumeration
Urban/rural comparisons

(iii) Economic. Agrarian/Commercial/Industrial
Cash economy - and Tribal rural economy
Transport and power
Economic Institutions and Economic Development Plans.

State and Private Capital
Imports/Exports
Wages & Labour Conditions
Income Distribution
Syndicalism

(iv) Political — Recent history (post Brazzaville Conference post 1945 war)
Political organisations & institutions. Cadres.
Ideologies & political ideas. Newspapers.
Residual tribalism

Contemporary situation - similar treatment parties & T.U.'s
Pan-Africanism - ideology & perspectives.
Institutions - State
Non Governmental Association, parties T.U.'s, cultural - political

(v) Social & Cultural

Social structure - class
income
living standards
tribal organisation
employment - activities
Health
Welfare
Housing & Planning
Education
Voluntary agencies & associations
Art/Music

CONCLUSION (a) Composition of Govt./parties/T.U.'s, etc.
(b) Political autobiographies.

1 SOONG CHING LING X

2 KUO MO JO X

3 FAN WEN-LAN

4 MAO TUN

5 D.N.PRITT X

6 SUNDARLAL

7 ALEXANDER GOUBER Chairman Nat. Comm. Sov. Relations X

8 NIKOLAI TIKHONOV, Soviet Peace Committee, Moscow

9 ALEKSEI SURKOV, Sec. USSR Writers, Moscow X

10 TODOR PAVLOV, Pres. Bulgar. Acad. Sciences, Sofia, Bulgar X

11 P. VOUTOV

12 DR. G.XREXAX REINNAECKER

13 ANNA SEGHERS X

14 WALTHER VIKTOR

15 PROFESSOR DR. SCHILFERT, Humbold Univ., Berlin X

16 D. MARTIN NIEMOELLER, Kirchenpraesident, Wiesbaden, Bundesrepublik 3 Zonen

17 HEWLETT JOHNSON, DEAN OF CANTEBURY

18 FENNER BROCKWAY X 3741 Grange Farm Road, London WC 1 X

19 SAVERIO BRIGANTE X

20 BERNAL

21 IVOR MONTAGUE

23 JOHN BURNS — Fire Brigades Union X

24 E. COTTON —

25 ~~25~~ PIERRE COT —

26 FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE X

27 PABLO NERUDA X

Vercors X

A Phelps Stokes X

~~Neruda X~~

Abe Clark X

41-19F-11

DUBOIS HONORED AT MORGAN STATE-- Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, internationally

41-194-20

DUBOIS HONORED AT MORGAN-- Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, internationally renowned scholar and author, was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at Commencement Exercises of Morgan State College Monday, June 6. In conferring the degree, Morgan President, Dr. Martin D. Jenkins at right, told the scholar and crusader: "We honor you today, in the ninety-second year of your rich and remarkable life, for your remarkable role in the upward struggle of the Negro people.... Committed to the role of intellectual leadership while still in your twenties, you devoted your unusual talents to the task of building a better understanding among peoples and nations." Here Dr. DuBois is hooded by Morgan Registrar Edward N. Wilson and Dean Albert N. Whiting.

42/501/28

The Cold War

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4/5/17

The Second World War

Burke v Nathan

42/5A/128

BOOKS (continued)

CHILE THROUGH EMBASSY WINDOWS: 1939-1953 by Claude G. Bowers. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1958. 375 pp. $5.00.
Personal record of fourteen years as U.S. Ambassador to Chile stretches into a full-scale portrayal of life, people and politics in the Latin American republic.

INSPECTION FOR DISARMAMENT Edited by Seymour Melman. Columbia University Press, New York, 1958. 291 pp. $6.00.
A collection of fairly technical essays, stemming from a work project at the Columbia Institute of War and Peace Studies. Treats aerial inspection, budgets, detection of nuclear tests, radiation hazards, control over production, biological warfare, and other topics. The thesis is that "workable systems of inspection can be designed."

SOVIET STRATEGY IN THE NUCLEAR AGE by Raymond L. Garthoff. Praeger, New York, 1958. 283 pp. $4.50.
An examination of current Soviet military thinking, the extent and nature of Soviet preparations for nuclear age warfare, by an American authority.

THE MIDDLE EAST IN TRANSITION: STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY HISTORY edited by Walter Z. Laqueur. Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1958. 513 pp. $8.75.
Interpretive essays, by British, French, American, Soviet, Israeli and Arab authorities. Section I deals with "Social and Political Change", Section II with "Communism, the Soviet Union and the Middle East."

NO MORE WAR! by Linus Pauling. Dodd, Mead, New York, 1958. 254 pp. $3.50.
The Nobel Laureat physicist sets forth basic facts about nuclear fallout, and pleads for the establishment of permanent international agreements to end nuclear bomb testing.

DOCTORS TO THE WORLD by Murray Morgan. Viking Press, New York, 1958. 271 pp. $5.00.
A vivid narrative account of the work of the World Health Organization, now in its 10th anniversary year, by an American journalist.

THE STRUGGLE TO UNITE EUROPE, 1940-1958 by Arnold Zurcher. New York University Press, New York, 1958. 254 pp. $5.00.
An account of the development of the European Movement, and a critical examination of present institutions, by an American specialist who is convinced of the need for still more extensive political integration.

THE GREAT ARMS RACE: A COMPARISON OF U.S. AND SOVIET POWER TODAY by Hanson W. Baldwin. Praeger, New York, 1958. 116 pp. $2.95.
The military editor of the New York Times appraises the relative military strengths of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and offers proposals for U.S. defense reorganization and spending to bring our power up to a maximum. His suggestions differ from both the President's plan for reorganization of the Pentagon and the basic proposals of the Rockefeller report.

GERMANY AND FREEDOM: A PERSONAL APPRAISAL by James Bryant Conant. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1958. 117 pp. $3.00.
In three essays, first presented as Godkin lectures at Harvard, the former U.S. ambassador to Germany testifies to his conviction that Germany is today "firmly committed to freedom and the democratic process."

NATO AND THE FUTURE OF EUROPE by Ben T. Moore. Harper and Brothers (for the Council on Foreign Relations), New York, 1958. 263 pp. $4.50
Discussion of NATO's significance for the West, with special attention to its potential role as the basis of a future international community. Mr. Moore, who has had much to do with U.S. policy in NATO, draws heavily on the consideration of a Council on Foreign Relations working group.

FOCUS ON AFRICA

A new Bureau of African Affairs in the Department of State, new African study programs in universities, new private groups for research on Africa, for the promotion of African studies, for technical assistance and investment in Africa and cooperation with new African governments, a spate of new books, movies and magazine articles, these are all parts of the picture of an awakened and expanded concern in the United States with Africa, and recognition of African political and economic impact on ourselves and on the rest of the world. Because this acceleration is new and a striking example of the broad and the diverse response of American citizens to world events, Africa is the focus for the first issue of INTERCOM.

NOTE: Each subsequent issue will have a focus of its own. Some will dwell upon other parts of the world---Latin America, Middle East, Southeast Asia, for instance. Some will focus on special aspects of foreign policy. The next issue, we now plan to build around the subject of trade and aid; another might be on water. Some may focus attention on some special phase of programming, such as conference planning and resources, or publication and research; another on cooperation in technical assistance among private groups, governments and business organizations.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON AFRICA

U.S. Government Sources

U.S. Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Wash. 25, D.C. Office of Economic Affairs, Near East and African Division. (Information about economic and trade conditions.) U.S. Dept. of State, Public Services Division, Wash. 25, D.C.

The United Nations

The UN and its Specialized Agencies issue frequent reports on their African programs. These reports are indexed in the United Nations Documents Index and may be consulted at UN Depository Libraries around the country. The World Affairs Center will provide a list of these libraries upon request.

Government and Tourist Information Offices

Arab Information Center (on North Africa, The Sudan) --- Belgian Government Information Center (on the Belgian Congo, Ruanda Urandi) -- Belgian Congo Tourist Bureau -- British Information Services (on Gambia, Sierra Leona, Nigeria, British Cameroons, Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya, British Somaliland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Basutoland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia) -- East Africa Tourist Travel Association (on Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika) -- Nigeria Liaison Office -- South African Government Information Office.

(Addresses on pages 25 and 26.)

Embassies in Washington, D.C.

Ethiopia -- France (Information on Algeria, French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, Togoland, French Cameroons, Madagascar) -- Ghana -- Libya -- Liberia --- Italy (Information on Italian Somaliland) -- Morocco -- Portugal (Information on Portugese Guinea, Mozambique and Angola) -- Spain (Information on Spanish Guinea, Spanish Sahara) -- Sudan -- Tunisia.

Non-Governmental Organizations

AFRICA STUDIES ASSOCIATION, New York, N.Y. Consists of a college of fellows, of scholarly attainments in African studies. Its purpose is to encourage and facilitate research on Africa and to facilitate communication among its members. Publishes African Studies Bulletin, quarterly, for its members.

AMERICAN COMMITTTEE ON AFRICA, New York, N.Y. Membership organization which seeks to interpret the meaning of African events to the American people; supports the right of all people to self government. Holds meetings, distributes pamphlets on African affairs, publishes Africa Today.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. -- Aims at establishing closer relations between the peoples of Africa and the U.S. Provides information about Africa to Americans, information about America to Africans, assists African students in the United States. Sponsors Africa House. Publishes Africa Special Report.

MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Membership organization which provides information on North Africa, the Sudan and Arab cultures; publishes Middle East Journal.

DID YOU KNOW.....

That -- in 1950-51 the Technical Assistance Program of the UN provided a total of only $444,891 for Africa. By 1956 the number of benefiting African states and territories had jumped from 4 to 22, with projects costing $2.2 million to send 156 Africans to study overseas and to send 288 experts to Africa.

That -- by the end of 1957 the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development had already made loans totaling $462 million for African projects.

That -- there are over 80 million Moslems among Africa's 200 million inhabitants, and that over 40 million live south of the Sahara.....

That -- the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has 19 affiliated unions with over 2 million members throughout Africa, and that the I.C.F.T.U. will open its African Labour College, for the training of labour leaders in November, 1958, at Kampole, Uganda.

That -- there are 1,200 African students at present in the United States.

SOME PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS WITH EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS IN AND ON AFRICA

(This list does not include welfare agencies or other organizations carrying on programs of technical assistance in Africa, because it would take several total issues to cover even the incomplete information currently available. We plan a later INTERCOM focus on cooperation in technical assistance among non-governmental organizations, business, governments and intergovernmental agencies.)

American Association of University Women

AAUW branches throughout the country have included the study of Africa in their programs, and the national headquarters has prepared and distributed materials on Africa for use in study groups. An example is Africa South of the Sahara - A Study Guide, by Gwendolen M. Carter.

Methodist Church, Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities

The Women's Division of Christian Service works with the Division of World Missions in Algeria, Tunisia, Liberia, Belgian Congo, Angola, Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, and in Johannesburg in the Union of South Africa.

National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.

Book Center in Liberia

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

Two more staff members in Africa this year brings total to seven.

Report from Africa, describes how the YWCA of the U.S.A., through mutual service of the World YWCA, is helping to meet the needs of women in Africa. Single copies available from Foreign Division, YWCA of the U.S.A.

YWCA of the U.S.A. beginning new work in Central Federation of Africa and in West Africa, the latter to include African Area Leadership Development Project with joint sharing of American advisory help by YWCA's in Ghana, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Nigeria.

Three YWCA leaders from Africa, already well-grounded in YWCA program in their country, will be in United States this fall for further training, one to return to her country as executive secretary.

Program developed in Africa in cooperation with the women there includes: Club groups for employed girls, married women and teen-age girls; various kinds of classes including homemaking, beadwork, first aid and Bible study, among others; YWCA-sponsored community events such as fairs, concerts, etc.; leadership training sessions to help African women take over various assignments in the ever-expanding effort to help African women meet women everywhere.

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

Activities include the spreading of information about the work of the UN, the status of women, etc. The National Council makes available the UN material which it receives as an NGO accredited to the DPI to African affiliates. The Council hopes to bring over an exchange student in the field of teaching or social work. It is affiliated with women's groups in Liberia and the Federation of Women of Ghana.

United Church Women

Whole 1959 study program on Africa. A study book to be printed by the Joint Commission on Missionary Education will be used.

Part of the contributions collected on the annual World Day of Prayer are sent to Uganda to support the Kimpese school there.

Last year, the United Church Women supplied a mobile unit to Kenya which is used as a school on wheels and to show movies.

Translated into English from
MEDIZINISCHE KLINIK
München, Nr. 40—4. Oktober 4, 1957
p. 1758—1760

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GERIATRICS IN RUMANIA

by
ANNA ASLAN
„Prof. Dr. C. I. Parhon" Institute of Geriatries
Bucharest
Director: Prof. Dr. Anna Aslan

The problem of old age has been studied for the first time in our country under its pathogenic and therapeutic aspect, by neurologist G. Marinescu, well known especially for his work on the nerve cells. He has studied the modifications of the nerve cell in relationship with age

In 1912, C. I. Parhon started a series of experimental and biochemical studies on the process of ageing, mainly the relationship between age and the endocrine system,

From 1949, on, clinical, physiological and therapeutical studies have been started in a Home for aged people, with 21 inmates. In 1951, this home has been transformed in the „C. I. Parhon" Institute of Geriatrics, with 180 old people, from which 110 can live permanently in the Home Section — if they wish to — and 70 in the Hospital wards, where curative and scientific aspects of old age are especially cared for. Besides these, an Outpatient section is open to people ranging from 45 years onwards and who exhibit phenomena of precocious ageing, or for people who wish to undergo a prophylactic treatment. From 1952 until today, 12.500 patients have applied for consultations in this section. Among these, 5.251 cases have undergoneclinical and therapeutical investigations.

Since the foundation of the Institute, the same problems have been permanently studied by our researchers. One of the main objects has been to discover criteria of age, the most striking of which are the clinical ones.

The Institute has a Laboratory section which, after a modest beginning is now in full development. Necessary tests — chiefly for hospitalized patients —, scientific, biochemical, physiological and experimental medical investigations are all carried out here.

For the rehabilitation of old people, a few workshops, such as carpet weaving and toy shops have been attached to the Institute. Inmates can also busy themselves with gardening and housework, if they care to.

The patients' diet has been based on the most recent experimental and clinical notions, which stress the need of an adequate ration of proteins, an important amount of vitamins and a reduction of fats and sugnr. Restriction of salt is applied only in cases where it proves to be necessary.

It is well known — and this is also Prof. Parhon's opinion as well as Prof. Bürger's and Nagornai's that the biologic and calendaristic ages do not always coincide, this being connected to a constitutional factor, a factor of environment.

To find out a person's biologic age and to control therapeutic results in ageing, we have tried to obtain a series of criteria: clinical, physiological, biochemical, hematological. Maybe that each

criterion taken separately does not show absolutely precise data, but taken as a whole and with as many converging results at approximately fixed intervals — every three months — and in constant corroboration with clinical examination and functional tests, we may, under a scientific angle, get nearer to the determination of biologic age.

Besides studying the process of ageing as a problem, our Institute also investigates, with the aid of the above-mentioned criteria, the frequent diseases of old age: arterial hypertension, arteriosclerosis and degenerative rheumatism.

Another object of the Institute is the prophylaxis and treatment of old age, which is in itself the proper theme of Geriatrics.

Old age therapeutics: In our conception, old age is a more or less general dystrophy which can be fought against in some respects. C. I. Parhon considers that old age should not be looked upon as a normal condition. He believes that taking into account the optimal functioning of the system, old age is a pathological condition and he considers that with ageing the biological phenomena follow a single direction, if they occur in univocal conditions. Should these be changed, the direction of evolution would change as well.

At the beginning, therapeutical studies were made in cases of inmate patients ranging from 60 to 113 years old, out of which we consider as most interesting those who have been under our constant supervision (i. e. a number of 110 old inmates in our Home section).

Some of them have undergone various treatments, such as: Vitamin E, liquid beer-yeast and gland extracts (adrenal and pineal). Tissular extracts have likewise been used (placenta and spleen). The Olga Lepeshinskaya method of sodium bicarbonate baths was also applied. Each patient has received a single of all these treatments, a small group remaining without any biotrophic treatment whatever. Intercurrent diseases have been treated with normal therapeutic means, without however interrupting the fundamental biotrophic treatment.

Vitamin E Treatment. 20 patients aged between 60 and 90 have undergone a six-year treatment of germinated wheat oily extract (Vitamin E), one intramuscular injection three times a week, a series of 12 injections, with interruptions of 10—15 days between each series. Death rate has been of 5 to 16% (higher during the first years and lower during the last). Results have been registered clinically, physiologically and hematologically.

Clinical results: An improvement of general trophicity has been observed — mainly of the skin and in a lesser degree of its adnexes. A favourable effect of the extract has been noticed as regards degenerative articular processes (improvement of joint function). In cases where evolution has been slower, we have the impression that the process came to a standstill. The cardiovascular system has also been favourably influenced (mainly myocardic disorders and in a lesser degree vascular sclerosis). In cases of cardiac insufficiency, combined treatments have brought about a reduction of the necessity of digitalis and the regress or disappearance of arrythmic and stenocardic disorders. Induration of the main arteries (humeral, carotid) has regressed in certain cases. Sometimes, a tendency towards ganglio-splenic hyperplasia has been observed. Muscular trophicity has partially improved, toegether with an increase of muscular power, dynamometrically proved. The influence on the nervous system has been less important. An improvement of high nervous activity and an unimportant influence on striopallidal phenomena — contractions and trembling — have been noted.

Biochemical results and quantitative determinations of proteinemia and dysproteinemia tests after treatment, have shown a tendency towards the improvement of dysproteinemic conditions. A slight increase of albumin has been observed, a decrease of globulins and an improvement of floculation tests to 68,7%. Cholesterinemia has undergone scarcely any influence.

Our observations clearly show that germinated wheat extract (vitamin E) has a satisfactory effect and can thus be successfully used in the treatment of old age. The best effect can be expected in respect with ageing of the joints and of the cardiovascular system and less so in the ageing processes of a neurodystrophic nature.

Novocaine treatment. On the basis of results obtained in rheumatism with Novocaine, as well as in trophic disturbances of the extremities, we started to apply — after experimental research on white mice — a chronic and discontinuous treatment with Novocaine in the process of ageing, as follows: First day, 1 injection of 1 cm^3 — subcutaneous. Second day: 2 cm^3 intramuscular. If no allergic phenomena occur after this test, the actual treatment is started: 5 cm^3 intramuscular, three times a week — a series of 12 injections. Follows a ten-day interruption and then a new series of 12 injections. So on.

We started with only twenty cases, it being at first a somewhat experimental treatment. The following technique was used: Since the beginning of our experiments, considering that the stability of the solution grows in respect with the concentration of hydrogen ions, our solution had a pH of approx. 4.0. — On the basis of the low death-rate (no death occuring in this group during 1951—1953), the number of patients hospitalized and treated in the Home Section of the Institute has increased from 20 to 62. In a period of six years, the death rate has been of 2.74% at patients treated with Novocaine (H_3) whereas in cases undergoing other biotrophic treatments, the death-rate has been of 10.3%. Moreover, novocaine treatment has diminished invalidity. Thus, the percentage of patients able to furnish physical and intellectual activity, or of the older ones to help themselves alone, has risen from 32.35% to 95%. Such results have enabled us after the first years of treatment, to start outpatient treatments, which have reached a number of 5251 cases until present. Also on the basis of results, as well as on a theoretical basis, we started to treat phenomena of precocious ageing — whether partial or general — and also to apply prophylactic treatment. Such cures, ambulatory in most cases, amount to 1.100 cases out of the total of 5.251.

After novocaine treatment occurs an improvement of the physical and psychic capacities of aged subjects, together with an increase of muscular power (from 8 to 25 kg., in a case of pseudo-bulbar syndrome). Muscular power grows as well in cases of hemiplegia. Gait is improved and also movement of the fingers in cases where it had become inexistent (for instance the buttoning of clothes). Changes also occur in the voice, which becomes stronger. Rigidity in Parkinson's disease decreases. The most outstanding effects are however observed at the level of the skin and hair: senile keratosis is improved, hair re-pigmented and hairgrowth stimulated in cases of alopecia.

Treatments of a longer duration have shown a modification of arterial conditions coinciding with an improvement of vascular functional tests. Psychologically, C. I. Parhon and his assistants have noticed an improvement of fixation and evocatory memory. This also becomes apparent to some extent in cases of pseudo-bulbar syndrome – Pick Syndrome.

Physiological studies on conditioned reflexes show an improvement of high nervous activity in old subjects undergoing Novocaine treatment.

The action exerted by H_3 on the trophicity of the whole organism and on the endocrine glands — oestrogenes and orchitic glands — and the investigation of its faculty to equilibrate the functions of the thyroid and adrenal glands, lead us to the conclusion that there exists an action exerted by this substance on the nervous system.

S. Garattini and E. Genovese have observed that after an intravenous injection of procaine in animals, the greatest quantity of the substance is found in the central nervous system, especially in the cerebellum.

Our results also confirm I. P. Pavlov's conception on the ageing of the organism occuring through the ageing of the nervous system and especially of the cerebral cortex.

In endeavouring to go deeper into the acting mechanism of novocaine, wo have found data which enable us to suggest that the action of Novocaine is of a vitamin-like type. Besides, it would not be the only chemical substance to have a vitamin-like action. Coramin has a vitamin PP action and Rutin has the same action as vitamin P, I or C_2. On the other hand, investigations carried out by Müller and Schwartz show a stimulating action exerted by novocaine and p-aminobenzoic acid on microbes, while the same action is not to be found where meta — and ortho-aminobenzoic acids are concerned. With N. Cosmovici, we have made a comparative research on the stimulation of ciliata by p-aminobenzoic acid and novocaine and we have found that cell proliferation is produced by both substances.

Biochemical research and investigations concerning proteic metabolism, studied by electrophoretic methods, combined with hematological tests on peripheric and central circulation in cases treated with novocaine, reveal an action of a heparinoid type, an increese of the limit between alpha — and beta-globulins aud the appearance of mastocytes in bone marrow. Studies on lipidic metabolism, concerning at first cholesterol and lately lipoproteins, have revealed a mobilization of cholesterol from the deposits and an increase of cholesterol in the blood — in cases of very old subjects, where cholesterolemia is generally reduced.

Among the various actions of novocaine, some may be considered in regard to its transformation into para-aminobenzoic acid, such as: an action on the trophicity of the skin and an action against greying hair. These actions have also been considered in connection with the transformation of para-aminobenzoic acid into folic acid. It is also stated that PAB acid can be synthetized by the intestinal flora.

We have presumed that novocaine could have a stimulating action on the intestinal flora, which could itself produce biogenical factors, such as PAB acid and folic acid.

To underline the vitaminic role of novocaine, we have proposed the name of „substance H_3, an eutrophic and rejuvenating factor".

On the basis of results concerning the phenomena of rejuvenation, rehabilitation and the decrease of death-rate, we are convinced that this substance is a useful element in the struggle against ageing. We are also convinced that generally, biocatalysing substances which intervene in the intimate cell system and those which act on the nervous system, can be applied in geriatrics. The only condition would be that such treatments should be of a long duration.

41-19D-3

Reprinted from

THE NATION

JANUARY 25, 1958 . . 25c

W. E. B. DuBOIS: Prophet in Limbo . . *by Truman Nelson*

> This is the modern paradox of Sin before which the Puritan stands open-mouthed and mute. A group, a nation, or a race commits murder and rape, steals and destroys, yet no individual is guilty, no one is to blame, no one can be punished. The black world squirms beneath the feet of the white in impotent fury or sullen hate.
>
> W. E. B. DuBois

HERE IS THE unmistakable wrath of a prophet; said yesterday, true today. We listened for it in the deep shame of our recent past to lift us above the brute realities of an American governor punishing the innocent and rewarding a guilty and bestial mob, putting armed troops in the service of its capricious inhumanity. Politicians have since resolved the crisis with counterforce; yet somehow along the way all principle was drained out of the solution.

We scarcely know where to look for the prophets. They are well-nigh obsolete. Being one thing to all men today is a superhuman task, for amplitude is the deadly foe of consistency. We don't sit under preaching any more. No longer can mystic fervor and exhortation make up for error, nor can the proclamation of an absolute make people see things not as they are, but in the shape of old prophecies. There are no more absolutes and yet the prophet has to move from certainty to certainty, break through to reality and then, on center, proclaim it to the world.

Dr. William E. Burghardt DuBois prepared for his calling as a child of his age, which is of this age, of course, although his life span has been so great that it is only because the prophet has eternal life that we know that he is of our age and younger than we are because he is also of the next age and the next. He was born three years after the War of the Rebellion and under the Presidency of a man unusually sensitive toward white rights masquerading as State's Rights—Andrew Johnson. Time whirled him downstream to his abiding rock with perfunctory ease. He was of mixed blood in a country town in Western Massachusetts where the color line was manifest but not absolutely drawn. To the world he was a Negro, but he did not feel the sting of this at first because he was also poor and this was enough. Somehow, by the staggering economic travail of his mother, he managed to get a first-rate education. However, there are so many elements of the prodigious in this process that it is hard to rate it simply as an achievement; there are too many intangibles — fate, luck, what you will — to dwell on the Horatio Algerish rise of a poor Negro boy in a small town to the eminence of a graduate of Fisk, Harvard and the University of Berlin. He says himself: "It was difficult for me at this time to form a critical estimate of any meaning of the world which differed from the conventional unanimity about me."

So far he had proved nothing but that he was a prodigy. For all this had little to do with his real work, although he thought it had. He thought knowledge was power. It goes without saying (but it should be said at every opportunity) that every Negro in America knows as soon as he is out of his diapers that he is the *Accursed Question*; the Problem settles massively on his young shoulders for life at the (let us say charitably) tenth personal encounter with a member of the white race. DuBois, like a young horse feeling his strength and destiny as a beast of burden, threw his whole weight into the traces with the thought that if he could just drag the wrongs of his people in a compact load down Main Street something would be done by the passers-by. He was at Harvard at one of her greatest periods. He fell under the influence of William James and got from him what he thought would be his ultimate direction: to put science into sociology through a study of his own race. In the slums of Philadelphia, he made monumental studies of Negro morality, urbanization, efforts for social betterment; of the Negro in business, in college, in grade school, in church, at work, in crime: 2,172 pages of scholarly fact and opinion. It made him famous. Platforms were opened to him. Congressional committees sought his testimony . . . voluntary and friendly, of course.

BUT FOR all the accuracy and devotion of this truth-seeking, it had slight effect on the daily reality of Negroes being lynched, murdered and starved. The truths were needed but they were not wanted; and the compiler found it easy to starve alongside the subjects of his case histories, suffering the spiritual hunger which is the frustration of the appetite for justice, as well as the physical variety. He then found an

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TRUMAN NELSON is the author of The Sin of the Prophet *and of a forthcoming study of John Brown.*

enclave of sustenance at Atlanta University, a Negro school, as a teacher.

A functioning prophet has to get hold of some great and crescive phrase, a thought that can ring out in sorrow and in anger and which can be reiterated all his life: in battle from the housetops, in ecstasy among his brethren, in solitude and despair with a succoring and replenishing life. Alas, what a fine thing it would be if thesis-writing could change the world! Our graduate schools would become the Parliament of Man.

What DuBois got hold of was this: *Most men in this world are colored. A faith in humanity, therefore, a belief in the gradual growth and perfectibility of men must, if honest, be primarily a belief in colored men.*

Anyone can see the enormous power of these thirty-two words over the 2,172 pages of thesis-writing. The credo begins with a rude shock to the dominant whites; it challenges their ethics, strips naked their hypocrisy, universalizes their religions and then puts them on their good behavior, tested by their own great shibboleth of "democracy." Every gift, every bravery, every defeat in DuBois flowered out of this. It brought him into his first great struggle.

DuBOIS did this and more: he attacked the great hero of his own people. It takes a brave Catholic to take issue with the Pope, a brave Jew to denounce or disown Moses; Booker T. Washington was both of these for ten million Negroes at the turn of the century. DuBois and Washington had a host of differences but the salient one was that Washington believed that the Negro's struggle out of the prison of his skin must be subordinated to dominant public opinion and that opinion deferred to and cajoled until it allowed a deviation toward better ways (he seems to be haunting the Executive Mansion today). During Washington's period as spokesman for the race, the whole body of Jim Crow caste laws was passed in the South, there were hundreds of lynchings yearly and murderous incidents and degradations; but the ringleader's ideological emphasis was on *Negro* shortcomings, so that the onus was placed on the Negro himself. Andrew Carnegie made Washington a gift of $600,000 for Tuskegee; other rich whites were generous.

DuBois, almost single-handed, shattered these golden chains. He crossed the water into Canada, like John Brown before him, to mobilize a program of revolt against voluntary segregation. The Niagara Movement is a book in itself; it cannot be summarized other than by saying it demanded *practical* equality as John Brown demanded *practical* abolition —the full and unequivocal equality of the Negro in all areas of the human condition. Now! At once! Why not?

DuBois was nearly inundated by sewer-pipe torrents of criticism from all sides, but he worked on in semi-secrecy to develop the mobilization and the next year, in one of the most moving organizational incidents in human history, the black men of the Niagara Movement met at Harper's Ferry and walked barefoot over the flinty roads in a pilgrimage to the site of the Engine House. They stood there, in the broad and southern daylight and with their bare flesh pressing on the spot marked by the sacrificial blood of the white man who had most plainly burned the poison of white supremacy out of himself and his children, dedicated themselves to a program of positive, non-violent action based on these truths addressed to the American Conscience:

> We want manhood suffrage and we want it now, henceforth and forever. We want the Constitution of the country enforced: Congress to take charge of Congressional elections, the Fourteenth Amendment to be carried out to the letter and every state disenfranchised in Congress which attempts to disenfranchise its rightful voters. We want black boys and girls to know, to think, to aspire. We will get these things by voting where we can vote, by persisting, unceasing agitation, by hammering at the truth, by sacrifice and work. We do not believe in violence but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice . . . and here on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom, we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property, to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free.

This was DuBois in 1906. The date is crucial, for it was a time when Southern white attitudes were not as basaltic as they are now; it was the very date on which Alabama led the South by instituting the first legal Jim Crow car (C. Vann Woodward, in his immensely valuable research, has completely destroyed the sanctimonious myth of the antiquity of segregation). There was still time before the deluge, DuBois thought, to solve the American dilemma by implementing the amendments in the Constitution which guaranteed political equality to the Negro. In terms of the foot-dragging going on today, it may seem madness to have called for equality fifty years ago, but competent sociologists such as Kenneth B. Clark of New York City College are saying that the whole concept of "gradualism" in race issues is generally seen by its opponents as a sign of weakness and, furthermore, grants them time to mobilize, organize and intensify their opposition. It was *after* DuBois' call for full suffrage and rights, specifically when the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912 brought the Southern Democrats back to Washington in force for the first time since the War of the Rebellion, that the great tide of segregation swept to its high-water mark.

There is considerable evidence today that a speedy and forthright approach to racial problems is less likely than gradualism to result in bitter and prolonged opposition. It is not hard to believe that it might have been possible for Negroes, had they listened to true and not false prophets fifty years past, to have had their full rights long ago.

THE BIG FLAW in this crystal is that there was no NAACP then, but there wouldn't have been any NAACP today either, if it had not been for DuBois. None of the people in this great organization want contention over claims to foundership. Some say Oswald Garrison Villard started it. He was, perhaps, its first real functionary. Some say William Walling. The Association itself says

W. E. B. DuBois

Walling, Mary White Ovington and Henry Moskowitz laid the foundations, but anyone who has grieved at the plunging gulf separating the communication of black and white in this country today knows instinctively that no three whites, no matter how enlightened, could ever appear other than (in the words of the old Wobbly song) "condescending saviors" to the Negro people, unless and until some of their own folks entered the association on equal terms.

It was DuBois who fertilized this seedling and made it viable by leading into it the brave black men of his Niagara Movement. Oswald Garrison Villard, to his eternal credit, saw the *man* in DuBois and let him establish and operate *The Crisis*, one of the great agitational organs of world reform. It was great because it was not the stultified and broad-beamed expression of committee decisions, but struck out with the hard, sword-shaped convictions of one man. The Association recognized its greatness when DuBois left this post, saying:

> He founded *The Crisis* without a cent of capital and made it self-supporting, with a peak circulation of 100,000. He transformed the Negro world, created what had never existed before, a Negro intelligentsia. He gave a new orientation to the relationship of the black and white races. Without him the Association would never have been what it was and is.

From the towering and broad-margined plateau of his prophecy, DuBois could see Africa, the Negro homeland, where the black man really was the majority. At the close of World War I, a disaster he blamed on European rivalries over the exploitation of colored, colonial labor, he went to Versailles to take Wilson up on his pledge of self-determination to small nations. What about the small nations of Africa? he asked, and organized the first *genuine* Pan-African Congress. From then on he was the acknowledged "Father of Pan-Africanism," founding and keeping alive the African Renaissance, seeking liberation from colonialism.

THESE words come easily, but only someone who has helped carry the uncompleted and imperfect instruments of an unpopular cause can appreciate the deadly boredom, the endlessly repetitious talk, the sour encounters of fund-raising, the "Father" of anything has to endure. The men for whom DuBois was demanding a place in the galaxy of sovereign nations had been little more than victims for four hundred years. A hundred million of their immediate forebears had been stolen into slavery by the whites they were being asked to emulate; whites who had ruthlessly destroyed their own ancient governments, industries and cultures. They had learned long before that there was no international conscience to which they could appeal. I imagine there was a great deal of contemptuous laughter in world capitals at the thought of Africans from the bush forming a more perfect union of their own.

DuBois held the first Pan-African Congress in Paris in defiance of the disapproval of the American Government. Through it the notion of a Free Africa was first projected into world politics. The second congress was held in London. He bore the expense of its preparation out of his own pocket, which contained the usual meager resources of an American scholar. He drafted a "Declaration to the World" which was endorsed by the delegates. Its message was that "The absolute equality of races, physical, political, social is the founding stone of world and human advancement. The doctrine of racial equality does not interfere with individual liberty; rather fulfills it."

At this congress, he tried to establish a permanent secretariat to keep Pan-Africanism alive until genuine political parties could put down roots in African soil. This he could not effect, but the third congress, held in London and Lisbon, attracted the presence and support of some significant names: Harold Laski, H. G. Wells, Ramsay MacDonald. The

fourth was held in New York. He had tried vainly to assemble it on African soil. The links he was forging so patiently were still not extensive enough to get a grapple hold on colonialism and begin to uproot it. The world was plunging into financial crisis. DuBois had to abandon all hope of establishing the ultimate African organization as the necessary contributions dried up in the common ruin of millions of black men and white. The fifth Pan-African Congress had to come nearly twenty years later, but its ideological structure was still firm and whole. George Padmore, the historian of the Pan-African movement, writes that it was a personal triumph for DuBois, who "brought to the deliberation a freshness of outlook that greatly influenced the final decisions, the implementation of which is already shaping the African Continent."

One of the secretaries of the Congress was Kwame Nkrumah, who went on from there to become the black Prime Minister of the new sovereign state of Ghana. Nkrumah says, "It was this fifth Pan-African Congress that provided the outlet for African nationalism and brought about awakening of African political consciousness." Ghana yesterday, tomorrow Nigeria, French West Africa and the Cameroons, all guided along the road of non-violent revolution by the founding stones of DuBois, instead of being forced by the whites into tragic Mau-Mau-ism. And who can tell, perhaps the grand idea of human equality may penetrate into Mississippi, U.S.A.

DuBOIS has been rewarded as this country nearly always rewards its prophets. He was arrested—as Thoreau was arrested, and Theodore Parker and Garrison, Phillips, Samuel Gridley Howe, Bronson Alcott, Abner Kneeland, Frank Sanborn, T. W. Higginson, Ezra Heywood, Benjamin Tucker, Sacco and Vanzetti. The charge made against DuBois was that he was an agent of a foreign power. He was acquitted. But the same man who had been equated with Franklin and Jefferson by Henry Steele Commager in his *Men Who Make Up Our Minds,* described by John Gunther as "almost like Shaw or Einstein . . . in his field," who was given the most eloquent praise by Van Wyck Brooks, Eugene O'Neill and others of like calibre, discovered after he had been fingerprinted, handcuffed, bailed and remanded for trial, that a terrible blight seemed to settle over his virtues and his powers. He found himself virtually excluded from the press and publishing; found that he was in exile, shut off from the main channel of American life which he had so generously purified and deepened in his long lifetime. Not only exiled, but entombed: he could not get a passport to go abroad and express himself.

It must be said that DuBois has been arrogant and made some critical misjudgments. Don't ask me when. I am an intemperate man myself. My explanation is that we ordinary men who bruise easily and do not suffer fools gladly, and *all* prophets, are constitutionally wrong-headed and arrogant. Garrison and Phillips drove with the whiplash of their vituperation every middle-of-the-roader out of their faction of the anti-slavery movement. Theodore Parker was the most hated man of his time among his brethren of the cloth. Perhaps this is the best thing about them, and the element which might have saved the radical movement in this country from its present chaos and futility: the ability to make something monolithic about dissent, instead of the other way around where a thing is said to be monolithic because there is no apparent or permitted dissent and it suddenly falls to pieces like rotten cheese. DuBois was just wrong-headed enough fifty years ago to reverse the direction of a race and demand full equality as a minimum when most Negroes were learning how to be quiet enough not to be lynched.

His own excuse is less flattering. He says:

> My leadership was a leadership solely of ideas. I never was, nor ever will be, personally popular. This was not simply because of my idiosyncrasies, but because I despise the essential demagoguery of personal leadership; of that hypnotic ascendancy over men which carries out objectives regardless of their value or validity simply by personal loyalty and admiration. In my case I withdrew sometimes ostentatiously from the personal nexus, but I sought all the more reterminedly to force home essential ideas.

He is arrogant enough today, after suffering this blight six years ago, in his eighty-third year, not to crawl, to breast-beat, to cry *mea culpa,* and so get himself fumigated, deodorized and acceptable, but rather to sit in solitude, waiting for the American people to rehabilitate themselves in relation to *him* instead of the other way around. This is the way it has to be with prophets. He is in solitude, but not in silence. He is working, and let this be an example to the fearful men of this cardiac age to whom death lurks conspiratorially in the shadow of every peak of tension, emotion or commonplace effort. He has just written a trilogy on Negro history to complete his life's message. The first volume appeared in 1957; the others are to appear this year and next. He is nearly ninety and has endured every variety of abuse, accusation and infamy, and all this with a nature sensitive to an extraordinary degree; endured it for his color, his religion, his politics and most of all for the sheer, cussed unchangeability of his *self.*

TAKE a long look at this man. Historians and text-book writers have a way of making his kind invisible and hanging their laurels on political accidents. I know just how they do it. There is evil and a man challenges it and in the ensuing struggle people find themselves involved, willy-nilly, on his side. And they suffer for it and blame him for calling attention to the evil and in a generation or so he has been transformed into the evil itself.

But this does not have to be. Someday the people in this country will demand that their own records be set straight, and alongside the political accidents, the Presidents and Senators, will go the enduring and usable truths of the American Prophets. Among these Prophets will be W. E. B. DuBois.

'Race': Boxoffice But Booby-Trapped

Nazis' Notorious Use of Race Stereotype for Screen Propaganda Contrasts With American Experiments—40 Years Later D. W. Griffith's 'Rape & Race' Slants in 'Nation' Still Arouse Controversy—Used in Little Rock

By ROBERT J. LANDRY

Veit Harlan does not defend "Jew Suss." He admits it was a hateful moving picture. His defence is that, under the Nazis, he had no choice. He was not free to refuse to direct a story Hitler wanted filmed. Only a few months ago Harlan pleaded, again, for forgiveness and an end to his professional disgrace. He seeks good behavior credit marks from German and World opinion because he destroyed, after the war, the negative, which might otherwise have fallen into the hands of certain anti-Semites of the Middle East.

It is true, of course, that there were many films under the Nazis which systematically poisoned minds against the Jews. Harlan's film was only the best known, the most notorious, probably the most skilfully produced. His subsequent disgrace has been in ratio to his artistry.

Nazi propaganda was incessant on screen, stage, radio, press, over every stadium and factory loudspeaker. A main, though not an only, theme was race hatred. Often Jew-baiting was incidental, a thrown-in crack. But "Jew Suss," based on an unobjectionable novel, was loaded and slanted so viciously that it has become the memory-symbol of a terrible but not exclusively German-taught lesson: *that moving pictures may be used to debauch human nature as well as divert and inform it.*

It is not intended to compare the cold, confiscating, massive brutality of Nazi malice with lesser phenomena in race superiority-inferiority exploitation. But it cannot escape the notice of close students of the cinema that American producers of yesteryear have made free and often careless use of such "stereotypes" as the yellow peril, the lazy Mexican peon, the flannel-sleeved Irish, the mobster Italian and, of course, the unspeakable Huns of Eric Von Stroheim and Wallace and Noah Beery. A reminder that such racial angles were and are bruising to pride has lately been provided by the protests elicited by certain old movies revived on television.

Americans are in the position of having demonstrated to the world, so early as 1915, a bold manipulation of race feeling, for profit. The film in question, David Wark Griffith's "The Birth of a Nation," was so "charged" that even today when it is shown in special bookings, to film museum audiences, or college courses, emotion creeps into the discussion.

"Birth" was the original American boxoffice blockbuster. No confirmed data exists, since the film was sold so often, reissued so many times, and mostly circulated on states rights deals. It is probable, however, that the world gross was well into the $50-millions, ahead of the official all-time boxoffice champion. "Gone With the Wind" ($33,500,000), which, interestingly, also deals with the Confederacy that was, though in no way otherwise comparable.

How To Blow Up The B.O.

If the final angry words concerning "Birth of a Nation" have not yet been said, if the Geiger counter still picks up radiation hazards, it is arresting to note that (1) Griffith developed such magnitudinous force by combining the twin nightmares of folklore in America— to wit, *rape and race* and (2) that he absolutely denied that his film inflamed bigotry. To prove himself a liberal he at once made "Intolerance." Irony must remark that Griffith's "Birth" cleaned up and his "Intolerance" flopped.

Griffith would never concede, as Veit Harlan in Germany, that the minority race cast in the role of scapegoat complained with any justice. But as the Jews in Europe were quite clear in their own minds about "Jew Suss," so, too, have the Negroes in America been clear in their's about the movie D.W.G. made of Thomas Dixon's "The Clansman." Negroes considered themselves rabidly incited against by the film and repeatedly went to court seeking injunctive relief. No need here to recite the tangled history of such litigation. A number of cities did ban "Birth," and at least one state, Ohio. Possibly the most significant result of all the social agitation was this: after 1930 no print not drastically deleted was shown publicly.

During 1957 this VARIETY critic viewed a remarkably clear, privately owned, rare print of the 1915 original editing of the famed 12-reel silent epic. The print is a prize of the film library of the actor, John Griggs, who has a fortune tied up in old collector's items. Interestingly, Griggs has added his own sound track, based on the original orchestral score.

Seen again, in the perspective of time, the film's relation to the race problem in America is vividly apparent. Kentucky-born Griffith did not invent but he surely did capture and encapsule the Dixie attitude. The uncut and unsoftened 1915 print carries subtitles in the jargon of today's segregationists. The epic's message, explicitly and implicitly, is very "familiar."

Naturally it is not possible for a professional critic to pretend he viewed "The Birth of a Nation" in ignorance of its impact, or its place in cinematic history. Perhaps no film so divides between pioneering artistry and what it is saying.

Did He Know What He Was Doing?

A fascinating question remains unanswered, to wit, whether, or to what extent, Griffith knew what he was about. He was a showman. His aim was to titillate the masses. In modern parlance he set out to manufacture tumult. No doubt he succeeded beyond his wildest imagining, even though he loaded his work with "sexsational" values, especially for that era. Threatened rape was standard for melodrama but with race dropped into the mixture, the difference made all the difference at the ticket window. Griffith topped the white slave films of that day which were frightening America out of its wits.

How clever Griffith was in playing upon the race feelings of his audiences is suggested by the fact that the dastardly mulatto in the end threatened Lillian Gish not with rape but—more subtle horror—marriage. Until then, she, a Northerner, had somewhat deplored Southern attitudes. Now she eagerly prayed for the Ku Klux Klan to come galloping.

See what we mean by the statement that even today a discussion of this film, made 40 years ago, arouses emotion? The lesson cannot be lost upon either showmen or critics. Griffith rushed in where, ever since, the film industry has largely feared to tread. Despite all the money involved, nothing like "The Birth of a Nation" followed. For once, a sensational success did not create a "cycle" of imitations.

Still Playing 40 Years Later

Though now mostly retired to the cloisters of scholarship, "The Birth" is still exhibited occasionally. VARIETY has lately reported showings at the Lawndale Theatre in Philadelphia, and at art houses in Minneapolis and Washington plus scattered situations in Ohio where it became legally admissable (after 40 years) following the abolition of state censorship. There were no incidents. However, a proposal of a freelance producer to "remake" the classic, for the great value of the title, but eliminating, as he promised, the objectionable angles, raised enough hue and cry that the project was quietly forgotten.

Most significant circumstance of all during 1957 may well be this: "Birth" was being sensationalized in a downtown house in Little Rock in advance of the school integration riots there.

Some of the remembered aspects of "Birth of a Nation" were outside Griffith's control. For perhaps 20 years, off and on, hired horsemen in Klan regalia paraded the streets of American towns to advertise the film. Millions still living witnessed the highly dubious spectacle of night-riders turned into ballyhooligans.

Livery stable Klansmen were seen in American towns well before the film was made. Here is a point that has not been fully explored—it appears that Griffith borrowed the basic boxoffice formulae from bloody shirt postwar melodrama which long toured the back country of America disguised as "the legitimate theatre."

To what extent did the original states rights distributors fear possible banning of the film? There is evidence that the pell-mell making of cash deals, often for relatively trifling sums, has a fast-buck motivation. Early, if fragmentary, records of transactions in the possession of film scholars are fairly unbelieveable considering the subsequent boxoffice cleanup. It was, of course, 1915 and 1916 and it was then not possible to advance-calculate earnings, as knowledgable showmen can do today, after the first 10 or 15 openings.

For all its sensation, "The Birth of A Nation" rated from the outset as a nervous hit, and something of a trade question, if not embarrassment. Few could be so "innocent" as not to know that this film was the Confederate version of the two-sided and mischievious demagoguery which had dominated American politics since the Civil War.

It should be emphasized that Griffith's Negroes were played by white actors under cork. A sole exception was a young colored woman glimpsed momentarily as a maid. These "darkies" were hardly more than theatrical minstrels, made to leer and sneer. The shuffling-gaited comic valet of Tom Wilson is from the bottom of the old vaudeville hokum barrel.

Quite different from his almost thoughtless stereoptypic handling of the blackface figures was Griffith's doting development of the white characters in the story. Had this not been so there would have been only a shabby quickly-forgotten exploitation picture. Lovable people, and beguiling touches, infused "Birth" with a warmth that belied its harsh and brutal political actionist philosophy.

Griffith opened several of his scenes with a posed grouping—per Lincoln in the White House, Lee and Grant at Appomattox. The effect of this discovered vignette technique is rather like a shaft of sunlight suddenly falling on a county courthouse patriotic mural, the figures of which presently come alive. The director had a nice instinct for small town Americana. Infinitely cunning for his purposes was the selection of sweet-faced, doe-eyed, poetry-reading Henry B. Walthall as the Kleagle of the local Klu Klux Klan. Surely never on land or screen was a band of vigilantes, bent upon lynching, led by so refined and gentle a leader.

Battle Scenes Still Great

Mae Marsh had originally been intended for the role given Lillian Gish. Griffith made the switch when he realized that Miss Gish's long blonde hair could come dramatically undone and provide a "Griffith effect" against the dark-skin of the villian. Not for no reason was pioneer Griffith hailed as a "pictorial" genius.

Enthusiasts always acclaim the battle scenes. The 1957 re-look of this critic confirms their brilliant organization and execution. They do indeed stand the test of time. One feels that it is still wholly suitable, in the frame of 1915, to renew the lease on cameraman Billy Bitzer's niche in the film hall of fame.

Of course this "epic" is woven inextricably into the tapestry of the American film industry. Only a few weeks ago when Louis B. Mayer died it was recalled that his acquisition of the outside-Boston rights to "The Birth" was his first big taste of film profit potential.

Nearly all the actors in the 1915 film went on to stardom. Even a bit player who unfortunately disappeared in the interim, might have become one if scouts had ever found him. He was the Union soldier on hospital guard who fell in love with Lillian Gish on immediate sight. Griffith delighted in such improvised by-play, and so did his audience.

Griffith was imaginative in his casting, as when choosing a 16-year old lanky youth to impersonate Abraham Lincoln. The boy grew up to be the director, Joseph Henaberry.

Across the time bridge of four decades Lillian Gish and Mae Marsh still seem entrancingly girlish. Their close-ups serve as reminder that Griffith practically charted the technique of the Hollywood personal buildup. Small wonder so many of his actors held "The Master" in the greatest gratitude and affection.

One may speculate that a curiously naive, homefolksy quality. in Griffith helped him steer "The Birth of a quality in Griffith helped him steer "The Birth of a united vigilantes and valentines, unbelievable Negroes and endearing white gently folk. It was cornball with sweeping panorama, a political tract with a thick larding of the sexsational. The film's power to evoke emotion is still present, however intellectually vomitous some of the sub-titles and some of the scenes now seem.

Not the least of Griffith's industry pioneering is the fear he instilled in showmen of the consequences inherent in race themes. His was a naive daring, a willingness to stack the cards, story-wise, a boy debator's zest for scoring points and indifference to balanced statement. In the paradox which was Griffith, crudities were cheek-by-jowl with pathos. The frightening thing he created was a sort of narrative dignity which, in actor patois, "plays against the lines" of what the story is saying. The story is saying that there should be no nonsense about Negroes voting.

Village Evangelism

Griffith alarmed both races and all politicians. They saw that such artistry could persuade millions of good folk to belief that the worst was not only the best course, but the only course. The rankest kind of redneck primitiveness emerges in Griffith's stardusted story-telling, as sweet reasonableness. He played fast and loose with social dynamite.

The director was fated to expose his strain of village evangelism in features he made many years after "The Birth of A Nation." In one memorable turkey (and he made several at the unfortunate end of his career) Griffith took up arms against Demon Rum. His push for touchdown in this instance caused him to topple a dignified gentleman in a white suit, and, of course, sodden drunk, into a sty to wallow there on camera, among the pigs. Audiences howled in derision.

In defending the race slants in "Birth" Griffith defied his critics to prove "the facts" were untrue. Race relationists have usually answered that the truth of the facts was not what counted politically or practically—but how they were arranged, and presented, and interpreted, what purpose "the facts" were made to serve. Just here still lies the ultimate "moral" for showmen.

Negro leaders, and many social scientists, assert that the 1915 blockbuster flooded the North with the Southern point of view and that the release of the film was therefore an act of the highest political significance. Historians believe that the saturation playoff of the epic during 1915 and 1916 clearly "colored" the Immigration Act of 1917. The revival of the Klu Klux Klan a few years later is commonly related to the film—though it is interesting to remark that the latterday Klan broadened its pattern of prejudice to include Jews and Catholics.

Those Negro Customers

Time has worked notable switches with respect to the Negro. Now an important segment of the economy, numbering 15,000,000 and known to be responsive to motion pictures which interest them, there is a growing tendency among Hollywood producers to "cater" to this market.

Film theatres in the Dixie belt continue preponderantly segregated, though exceptions in the bigger urban centres have multiplied. The significant point is that though the South is 40% of the domestic playoff, producers have deliberately risked the loss or reduction of the South for the boxoffice value of (a) the northern industrial situations and (b) the overseas audiences. In Europe, in Asia, in the Pacific Islands and in some parts of Africa, films treating Negro problems or starring Negro personalities are conspicuously popular.

All sort of odd tangents may be remarked in terms of the American Negro entertainer today, 40 years after D. W. Griffith. Take the curious reliance of a swank hotel like the Waldorf-Astoria upon a succession of highpowered black performers. Or ponder the implication that our U.S. State Dept. has repeatedly sponsored foreign tours of Negro jazz groups, Negro operatic singers and the Negro folk opera, "Porgy and Bess."

In adapting and casting "Porgy and Bess" for the forthcoming Samuel Goldwyn film version, it is already clear that many delicacies must be skirted. Indeed the scenarist has been—he has complained—showered with gratuitous advice lest he trip on some of boobytraps of racial stereotyping.

Race emotionalism was in his day, and is now, commercial, but also fissionable. "Birth" renders a one-sided argument yet what it says is realistic enough. It is the stuff of today's headlines and editorials, the gear-box lubrication of modern Congressional filibusters.

Griffith's Klansmen turning back the Negroes at the polls, as "The Birth of A Nation" fades out, has a startling parrallel to the Little Rock mob of 1957 turning back the Negro pupils at the high school portals.

So the great lesson of Griffith in 1915, and more recently of Veit Harlan's "Jew Suss," is that showmanship enters the area of race feeling at its own peril. Harlan admits he knew the gun was loaded. Griffith insisted upon his own at-least-partial innocence

Today ignorance of the laws of group reaction could, at this level of sophistication, hardly pass as an excuse.